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THE ROCHESTER INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

THE ROLE OF PROGRAMMING IN INTERPRETING LGBTQ IDENTITIES IN
CONTEMPORARY ART MUSEUMS

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE
IN MUSEUM STUDIES

DEPARMENTS OF PERFORMING ARTS AND VISUAL CULTURE AND
HISTORY

BY

ANNA VERNACCHIO

APRIL 2019

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The members of the Committee approve the thesis of Anna Vernacchio submitted on April 25, 2019.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the methods through which art museums represent LGBTQ identities, facilitate discourse about diverse sexualities through programming, and address targeted media controversy. Through the analysis of the National Portrait Gallery's exhibition *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture* (November 2010 – February 2011) in comparison to the Brooklyn Museum's exhibition (November 2011 – February 2012), I discuss effective methods of engaging diverse communities when faced with opposing voices or perspectives. *Hide/Seek* was a ground-breaking exhibition which publicly interpreted LGBTQ identities through the lens of artwork, spanning from the late 19th century to the post-modern period. I analyze the curatorial choice of works included in the exhibition, methods of representation, and successes in highlighting LGBTQ identities and histories that had not been previously acknowledged at the museum. I evaluate the effectiveness of programming used to support the exhibition and engage both museums' communities and examine how each museum responded to media backlash. In doing so, I highlight the importance of programming when addressing topics of identity, human rights, and social activism and provide recommendations for contemporary institutions when developing programming for exhibitions about these subjects. Such programming is vital to reaching diverse communities and facilitating discussion that helps to further the equality and human rights of all.

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Introduction

This thesis analyzes how museums utilize programming to address unexpected controversy through the evaluation of the exhibition *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture* at the National Portrait Gallery and the subsequent exhibition and programming at the Brooklyn Museum. The National Portrait Gallery is one of the nineteen museums that make up the Smithsonian Institution.¹ *Hide/Seek* was the first large-scale exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution to “explicitly explore gay and lesbian themes,” and one of the most controversial LGBTQ exhibitions of the early 21st century. The exhibition explored: artist’s interpretations of the fluidity of sexuality and gender; the impact of issues facing the LGBTQ community (such as social marginalization and the AIDS crisis) on artistic movements; and art’s reflection of society’s “evolving and changing attitudes toward sexuality, desire, and romantic attachment.”²

A month after the landmark exhibition opened, controversy arose surrounding the inclusion of David Wojnarowicz’ film, *A Fire in My Belly*, due to the religious imagery used in the four-minute excerpt exhibited in the show (Appendix B, Fig. 1). Prompted by media backlash toward the exhibition, conservative congressmen Eric Cantor and John Boehner threatened the Smithsonian’s federal funding.³ The Secretary of the Smithsonian, G. Wayne Clough, withdrew the film from the exhibition the same day. The removal of the film sparked a new controversy about freedom of speech, gay rights, and the role of the museum when faced with criticism.

¹ “About the Smithsonian,” Smithsonian Institution, accessed April 17, 2019. <https://www.si.edu/about>

² Office of Policy and Analysis, “Introduction,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 9.

³ “Editorial: The ICA begins a conversation,” *The Boston Globe*, December 20, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_021]

Museums and galleries responded by exhibiting *A Fire in My Belly* in protest, artists requested the removal of their work from the show, and foundations that contributed to the funding of *Hide/Seek* announced that they would not fund future exhibitions at the Smithsonian. Many museums, galleries, and community organizations held panel discussions and symposia on the controversy, hoping to facilitate further discussion about the role of the museum in facilitating discourse about controversial topics. In April 2010, the Smithsonian held their own symposium, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines: Museum Curation and Controversy,” two months after the exhibition closed.⁴ This symposium was heavily criticized by journalists for skirting many of the important issues that it had intended to discuss.

The Smithsonian’s symposium would not be the end of the controversy surrounding *Hide/Seek*. In November 2011, the Brooklyn Museum hosted *Hide/Seek*, sparking local protests, this time by religious groups, and funding threats over the inclusion of Wojnarowicz’ film.⁵ The Brooklyn Museum responded to the controversy in a different manner than the Smithsonian, keeping *A Fire in My Belly* in the galleries of *Hide/Seek* and actively engaging its’ community in a dialogue about the exhibition as well as the controversy. The museum was careful to ensure its programming discussed the key themes of the show while acknowledging the earlier controversy, the role of the museum in facilitating dialogue, and the choices made by the Smithsonian when faced with criticism.

While the reaction to the Smithsonian’s decision to remove the work was heavily documented in the institution’s archive, the effectiveness and use of programming used to

⁴ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines’: Museum Curation & Controversy,’ Smithsonian Institution April 26-27,” accessed March 2019. <https://www.si.edu/Content/Flashpoints/Flashpoint-schedule.pdf>

⁵ Marie Diamond, “New York Republicans Threaten to Pull Funding If Museum Shows Film About The AIDS Crisis,” *Think Progress*, November 16, 2011. Box 2, Folder 4. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS2_022]

address the controversy has not received sustained scholarly analysis. Through the reconstruction of the timeline of events, along with several critical articles that discuss the effectiveness of the symposia and programming, I assess the effectiveness of the programming offered by both the National Portrait Gallery and the Brooklyn Museum. This thesis will not focus on or attempt to address Secretary Clough's response to the controversy as there is little available documentation on the series of events leading up to the censorship of *A Fire in My Belly*. Though there are restricted collections at the Smithsonian that may address this aspect of the controversy in future research projects, I intend to focus on the role of the Smithsonian's programming in addressing the controversy that ensued following the removal of the film and the importance of their reaction as a national institution.

Extending the work of Nina Simon, Kylie Message, and Richard Sandell, I use a similar methodology to evaluate the potential effectiveness of the programming used to interpret and engage with *Hide/Seek* at the National Portrait Gallery and the Brooklyn Museum. This evaluation considers the focus of the programming, its intended audience, and its relation to the thematic focus of the show, as well as the topic of free speech in museums and cultural institutions, and the role of the museum in facilitating conversation about the events that led to the censorship of the Wojnarowicz film. Through this comparison of the exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery and the Brooklyn Museum, I acknowledge the communities response to the controversy, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the programming offered by each institution, and examine what can be learned from their approach. This analysis will help identify where museums have not fully considered all potential stakeholder groups when developing inclusive exhibitions.

Though this case study was chosen in order to examine problems and learn from the museums' response to criticism, controversy, and social activism, the exhibition is a well conceptualized and curated example of LGBTQ representation and this should not be discounted. The controversy surrounding the exhibition highlighted the exchange between art and personal politics, freedom of speech, and the importance of community discourse in the face of controversy. Though the Smithsonian's response to the initial controversy was ill-informed, their choice to exhibit *Hide/Seek* should be acknowledged, as the show was relatively well received by critics and visitors alike.

Literature Review

When one thinks about the worlds of art and politics colliding, thoughts of the Culture Wars of the 1980s and 1990s often come to mind. Though art and politics have not always been at odds in American history, the Culture Wars were a key moment in the complex relationship between cultural institutions and society. During this time the Smithsonian presented four of the most controversial exhibitions it has offered in its long history: “The West As America,” which exposed the constructed nature of many of the myths surrounding the Great American West; “A More Perfect Union,” which presented the Constitution and its ideas in relation to Japanese internment and the “balance between the rights of a citizen versus the power of the state;” “Science in American Life,” an exhibition that examined the intersections of science and society from 1876 to the present; and finally the infamous “Enola Gay” exhibition, which sparked backlash from American veterans groups for its initial inclusion of the impact of the atomic bombs on the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.⁶

The controversies that characterized the 1990s Culture Wars highlight a moment in time when artistic freedom of expression, human rights, representation, and the role of cultural institutions was challenged by conservative members of Congress. In response to this challenge, Richard Sandell establishes that the museum must act as a space for intercultural expression and dialogue, while Nina Simon provides a potential format for this dialogue through the use of participatory programming. Through the museum’s authority, members of the community can engage with one another about controversial subjects and develop a more complete understanding of difficult or taboo topics.

⁶ Richard H. Kohn, “History and the Culture Wars: The Case of the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay Exhibition,” *The Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (1995): 1036-063.; “A More Perfect Union: Japanese American & the U.S. Constitution,” Smithsonian National Museum of American History, accessed April 22, 2019. <https://amhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/non-flash/index.html>; “Science in American Life,” Smithsonian Institution, accessed April 22, 2019. <https://www.si.edu/Exhibitions/Science-in-American-Life-164>

The Culture Wars of the 1990s

The late 1980s saw the rise of the Culture Wars, and tensions between the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the United States Senate escalated in the 1990s, following a series of controversies over the NEA's allocation of grant funding to artists and institutions that created or exhibited work perceived to be anti-Christian or "obscene."⁷ In 1986, Andres Serrano was granted a fellowship at the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, which received its funding from the National Endowment for the Arts.⁸ The resulting photograph, *Piss Christ*, 1987 (Appendix B, Fig. 1) – an image of a crucifix submerged in the artists' urine – generated extensive controversy from conservative Senators Alphonse D'Amato and Jesse Helms.⁹ Two years later Helms introduced an amendment to the NEA to prohibit the public funding of art deemed "obscene or indecent."¹⁰

In 1988, the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia exhibited *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment*, an exhibition which consisted of 150 images from Mapplethorpe's X, Y and Z portfolios, which focused on homosexual sadomasochism, flower still-lives, and nude portraits of Black men.¹¹ *The Perfect Moment* is arguably one of the most controversial American exhibitions of LGBTQ content. It was heavily criticized by conservatives for its "obscenity" as Mapplethorpe's simple compositions were interjected with varying

⁷ Roger Chapman, "National Endowment for the Arts," in *Culture Wars in America: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices* (2nd ed.), edited by Roger Chapman and James Ciment. (London, UK: Routledge, 2013). https://ezproxy.rit.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/sharpecw/national_endowment_for_the_arts/0?institutionId=3255

⁸ Roger Chapman, "Serrano, Andres (1950--)," in *Culture Wars in America: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices* (2nd ed.), edited by Roger Chapman and James Ciment, (London, UK: Routledge, 2013).

⁹ Chapman, "Serrano."

¹⁰ Chapman, "Serrano."

¹¹ Barbara Gamarekian, "Corcoran, to Foil Dispute, Drops Mapplethorpe Show," *The New York Times*, 14 June 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/06/14/arts/corcoran-to-foil-dispute-drops-mapplethorpe-show.html>; "Robert Mapplethorpe: XYZ," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art*, 2012. <https://www.lacma.org/art/exhibition/robert-mapplethorpe-xyz>

representations of homoeroticism.¹² The artworld initially felt that Mapplethorpe's work was overly formal, but had little to say about the choice of subject for the photographs.¹³ Following the conservative backlash the artworld defended the Mapplethorpe's work, pointing to the intention behind Mapplethorpe's images as erotic rather than obscene, but this did little to quell the publics' conceptions of Mapplethorpe's work.¹⁴

The exhibition was shown in Philadelphia and Chicago before it was exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington D.C in the summer of 1989.¹⁵ The director of the Corcoran, Christina Orr-Cahall, decided to cancel the gallery's exhibition in an attempt to avoid further controversy surrounding the show and the National Endowment of the Arts.¹⁶ This choice was met with LGBTQ protest, as activists picketed and projected the censored images onto the façade of the gallery.¹⁷ The controversy centered on the public funding of the exhibition at its original institution in Philadelphia, which was supported by a \$30,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.¹⁸ The Corcoran's cancellation of the exhibit only stoked the flames of the controversy, which followed the exhibit to Cincinnati, where the police investigated the legitimacy of the "obscenity" claims in relation to the show.¹⁹

The controversy that characterized the Culture Wars of the 1980s and 1990s helped bring light to the shortcomings of museums when addressing diverse publics. The assertion of

¹² Dustin Kidd, "Mapplethorpe and the New Obscenity," *Afterimage*, 30, no. 5, (March/April 2003), 6, ProQuest Ebrary.

¹³ Kidd, "Mapplethorpe," 6.

¹⁴ Kidd, "Mapplethorpe," 6.

¹⁵ Kidd, "Mapplethorpe," 6.

¹⁶ Kidd, "Mapplethorpe," 6.

¹⁷ "National Endowment for the Arts: Controversies in Free Speech," *National Coalition Against Censorship*, accessed 1 December 2018. <https://ncac.org/resource/national-endowment-for-the-arts-controversies-in-free-speech>

¹⁸ Robert Teigrob, "Mapplethorpe, Robert (1946–1989)," in *Culture Wars in America: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices* (2nd ed.), edited by Roger Chapman and James Ciment. (London, UK: Routledge, 2013). The National Endowment for the Arts was created to encourage the growth of the arts in the United States. It was officially created in 1965 as a part of the national Foundation of the Arts and Humanities with the mission to "foster the excellence, diversity, and vitality of the arts."

¹⁹ Kidd, "Mapplethorpe," 7.

conservative ideas by Congressional leaders restricted the representation possible by cultural institutions. Yet instead of discussing the conservative response to culturally challenging art in national museums, museums shied away from engaging with controversy, which explains, in part, the Smithsonian's response to the controversy surrounding *Hide/Seek*. Since the turn of the 21st century, museums have established an intentional focus on equal and accurate representation of the various constituencies they serve, which has included the LGBTQ community.

Museums as Sites of LGBTQ Representation, Dialogue, Activism, and Social Justice

The controversies that characterized the Culture Wars prompted the reevaluation of methods of representation in museums and cultural institutions, which in turn led to the development of the field of visitor engagement. This field utilizes contemporary educational theory within the larger public context of museums to create effective methods for engaging the diverse constituents who visit museums. The field of visitor engagement aims to promote an open dialogue between the museum and its communities in attempting to act as a space for the exchange of diverse ideas, the plurality of lived experiences, and the inclusion of varying community discourses.²⁰

One of the key voices on this topic is Nina Simon, with her landmark text *The Participatory Museum*. Simon addresses the changing role of museum publics following the advent of the digital age, proposing a more active style of engaging museum visitors as “cultural participants.”²¹ Simon begins by establishing three fundamental theories that support a participatory museological strategy for engaging communities. These three theories establish that the museum should be “audience-centered,” meaning that the museum develops exhibitions and

²⁰ Richard Sandell, “Introduction,” *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, eds. Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1.

²¹ Nina Simon, “Why Participate?,” in *The Participatory Museum*, (California: Museum 2.0, 2010), ii.

programming based on the wants and needs of its visitors; visitors develop their own meaning based on personal, lived experiences; and museums must look to their publics to “inform and invigorate both project design and public-facing programs.”²² This last point is key in developing my recommendations for museums when developing public programming regarding controversial subjects.

Simon goes on to highlight five forms of public dissatisfaction that participatory experiences address, three of which emphasize the importance of community engagement when developing participatory aspects of exhibitions.²³ The first is the idea that the institution does not include the viewpoint of a member of the community and provides little context to assist in comprehension of exhibition content.²⁴ For example, the curatorial selection for *Hide/Seek* featured representation for heterosexual viewers, with the inclusion of heterosexual artists like Duchamp and O’Keeffe, that provided a link between the gender binary and sexual conformity to the homosexual and gender queer experience. Yet religious viewers may have felt there was little effort to bridge the gap between the concepts of homosexuality and Wojnarowicz’ representation of religion in *A Fire in My Belly*, (Appendix A, Fig. 2).

The second and third forms of audience dissatisfaction which related to the controversy surrounding *Hide/Seek* outlined by Simon are: “The institution is not a creative place where I can express myself and contribute to history, science, and art.” and “The institution is not a comfortable social place for me to talk about ideas with friends and strangers.”²⁵ By censoring *A Fire in My Belly* the Smithsonian discouraged a form of creative expression, suppressing the initial conversation surrounding the content of the exhibition while igniting a wholly separate

²² Simon, “Why Participate?,” ii.

²³ Simon, “Why Participate?,” iii – iv.

²⁴ Simon, “Why Participate?,” iii.

²⁵ Simon, “Why Participate?,” iii – iv.

controversy. Though the Smithsonian experienced extreme criticism it was able to facilitate the exhibition of a show that received a higher than average response of “Excellent” in its visitor survey.²⁶

Despite the Smithsonian’s failure to respond to the initial controversy, museums across the country addressed the role of the museum in facilitating discourse between disparate groups. These perspectives are what inform participatory practices, begging the museum to not only provide a space for intercultural dialogue but also facilitate that experience in a way that provides the space for a multitude of voices. This dialogue can provide a more complete understanding of the way our publics interact with one another, which can influence methods utilized in developing exhibitions and programming.

When faced with criticism and controversy, often a museum’s initial reaction is an attempt to justify its curatorial choice; otherwise the museum apologizes to its community, surrendering its authority. These reactions do nothing to educate their community or delve deeper in to the source of the controversy, they are methods for diffusing the issue until the end of the exhibition or until the controversy subsides. This thesis argues that neither of these methods are sufficient means of addressing public controversy, especially on the national scale. Museums have a level of authority that carries with it the potential for controversy but also critical engagement. Unless museums surrenders that authority to another institution, whether intentional or not, they must utilize it to challenge preexisting social constructs and stereotypes.

In *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*, Kylie Message discusses the role of museums in developing cultural identity and provoking conversations about cultural politics.

²⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Quantitative Findings,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011), 62.

Though this is a role all museums must take on, Message focuses specifically on the role of the Smithsonian as “an institutional platform from which negotiations of power and authority... might occur.”²⁷ The Smithsonian is the national museum of the United States, this role entails providing equal representation for all members of society and engaging with the cultural conversations visitors prompt. During *Hide/Seek*, with the debate surrounding the U.S. Military’s “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” policy reaching a peak, the censorship of Wojnarowicz’ work was discouraging for the LGBTQ community, invalidating the comprehensive representation provided in the exhibition. The show unwittingly became the battleground for national politics.

In her discussion of representation and museum practice, Message focuses on the influence of the social reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s on the curatorial and museological practices at the Smithsonian. Message deconstructs the importance of the bicentennial exhibition *We the People*, at the National Museum of American History (NMAH), and other culturally challenging exhibitions; the growth of “caused-based collecting” at NMAH; and the legislations passed for the construction of the National Museum of the American Indian and the National Museum of African American History and Culture.²⁸ Message analyzes these examples of cultural inclusion at the Smithsonian to emphasize the importance of cultural pluralism and intercultural discourse on a national scale. For Message, the political activism and protests occurring on the National Mall in the late 20th century sparked the development of these inclusive practices and marked the beginning of the Smithsonian taking on the social discourse of the country and facilitating change.²⁹ *Hide/Seek* was pioneering in its representation of the culture and artistic influence of the LGBTQ community, acknowledging the long history of the

²⁷ Kylie Message, “We the People,” in *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 48.

²⁸ Kylie Message, *Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*, (New York: Routledge, 2014).

²⁹ Message, “Introduction: Headline News,” in *Museum and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

community, the role of gay liberation, and the impact of the AIDS epidemic of the late 20th century.

Where the Smithsonian lacked was in its response to initial criticism of the selection of David Wojnarowicz' 1986-1987 film, *A Fire in My Belly*. The Smithsonian's choice to withdraw the work was met with severe backlash from the art world, sparking a number of protests in New York City, Los Angeles, and across the country. Social activists confronted the museum head-on, begging for dialogue, yet Smithsonian leadership was slow to formally address the controversy, holding its only program about the censorship two months after the show closed. Despite the Institutions' knowledge of similar instances of censorship of LGBTQ themes in other local public institutions, the Smithsonian did not develop programming that could have addressed the controversy by anticipating confrontation with the topics of religion, gender expression and sexuality, and art. The lack of preemptive programming, and failure to develop supplemental programming following the controversy, meant that much of the community response to the censorship was processed by other community organizations, rather than the Smithsonian itself.

Contemporary debates regarding the role of social activism in the museum space and curatorial activism have focused on the importance of representation for marginalized communities. Often when museums feature marginalized identities there is controversy that follows, which can again ostracize those represented unless the museum stands by its choice. When the museum is faced with the difficult position of acting as mediator it should not shy away from engaging in those conversations with the various stakeholders it addresses. This form of community engagement attracts members of the community who had been previously loosely engaged with the museum due to a lack of representative content, while also broadening the

knowledge of its core visitor groups. Through greater representation these constituents are more prone to developing an interest in the museum and its mission.

Richard Sandell, a professor of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, discusses the important role museums have as spaces for defending human rights and social activism. His 2017 publication, *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights*, and his 2012 text, *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, provide a methodological framework for assessing the case studies in this thesis. A key component of Sandell's argument is the concept of human rights, which he defines as "a set of values, norms and beliefs, as a moral framework... through which social equality and fairness might be achieved."³⁰ He concedes that though the desirability of human rights is often generally accepted across varying constituencies, it is difficult to redefine the power dynamics between those who "enjoy rights" and those who do not.³¹ Despite this concession, his point that museums should attempt to challenge commonly accepted cultural norms should be emphasized.

Culture is not stagnant and therefore should be open to a discourse that challenges commonly held beliefs. In his argument for curatorial activism, in the form of inclusion and representation, Sandell explains that museums are "sites of persuasion' [that] can be harnessed to build public and political support for equity, fairness, and justice."³² He emphasizes that museums must explore their relationship to inequality and injustice by showing the way culture and heritage shape societal norms, in relation to fairness and power.³³ The Smithsonian has a responsibility because of its role as the national museum to act as a voice for equality, diversity, and human rights through the active representation of marginalized groups. This should include

³⁰ Richard Sandell, "Museums and the Human Rights Frame," in *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, eds. Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 195.

³¹ Sandell, "Museums and the Human Rights Frame," 195.

³² Sandell, "Museums and the Human Rights Frame," 197.

³³ Richard Sandell, "Introduction," *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, eds. Eithne Nightingale and Richard Sandell, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2.

not only exhibiting pieces of cultural patrimony but also looking to these communities to actively teach and engage with other members of the museums' community in order to promote equality and intercultural discourse.

In order to facilitate this discourse, the museum must engage with a variety of communities through active representation. Cultural representation provides a link from the visitor to the institution while validating the intrinsic value of the visitor through the museums' cultural authority. This representation should entail the intentional inclusion of exhibitions that not only represent the diversity of LGBTQ communities but also reflect the perspective of community members on the subject. By including these voices in the most foundational way, through an exhibition, the museum can build and facilitate intercultural experiences through their intentional use of programming.

Through the analysis of the both the National Portrait Gallery's and Brooklyn Museum's exhibitions of *Hide/Seek*, I examine the successes and shortcomings of the curatorial methods of representation and programming and examine how each museum responds to controversy that opposes the inclusion of LGBTQ themes in mainstream culture. In *Hide/Seek*, curators Jonathan Katz and David Ward use what they term as the queer perspective to interpret art history from the late 19th century onward, highlighting the sexual orientation of the artist featured while including gender representation in a broad sense. This representation, though landmark at the time, has been overshadowed by the controversy that prompted and followed the withdrawal of a film clip of David Wojnarowicz' 1986 film *A Fire in My Belly*. This thesis emphasizes the need for museums to engage with diverse voices through programming and the advancement of cultural dialogues instead of trying to avoid or side-step controversy.

Archival Research Methods

During the 2018 winter break, I visited the Smithsonian Institution archives and viewed collections from the Office of Public Affairs related to *Hide/Seek* and the controversy surrounding the exhibition. Due to the impending government shutdown I was only given a two-day window to review the four collections related to the exhibition; this limited time constrained my first pass of the documents. I also requested access to restricted collections related specifically to the Smithsonian's public forum on the controversy but due to the length of the shutdown it is unclear if the request emails were received. This is considered a limitation to this thesis, but also a potential opportunity for the continuation of the investigation into the impact of the symposium.

In the second review of my research, I chose to organize the 410 images, which equated to roughly 209 articles, with a naming convention based on collection number, folder name, and article number; for example, 14-069_NPG_HS1_01 can be broken down into collection 14-069, folder name "National Portrait Gallery *Hide/Seek*" folder 1, and finally the image number. The image number included a letter depending on how many pages correlated to the same article. These numbers are not representative of the quantity of articles included in the collections, but rather reflect what was deemed relevant during my initial research. This naming convention allowed me to identify the collection, folder, and the article number of each image as I was further organizing and categorizing my images.

After renaming all of the images with the naming convention, I created a set of five spreadsheets, one for each of the four collections and a final selections sheet, (Appendix A). Each spreadsheet had spaces with subjects that were common in the collection, allowing me to mark the subjects addressed in the document for easier identification. I was also able to make

notes about the articles in the notes section I provided for myself. After completing all of the information about the collections in my spreadsheet, I highlighted the articles that I believed would be most helpful and copied them into a separate spreadsheet of selected articles. This spreadsheet allowed me to access the relevant materials I had identified without having to page through the four other spreadsheets I had created.

From these articles I have reconstructed a timeline of the controversy and community response to the censorship which supports my claim that there was a need for further facilitation of the discourse related to the Smithsonian's choice to remove *A Fire in My Belly* from *Hide/Seek*. Though this research is able to begin reconstructing the importance of the events surrounding *Hide/Seek*, it is not a complete evaluation of the significance of the controversy as a whole and is currently unable to fully analyze the Smithsonian's response to the backlash.

Case Study: *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*

Curatorial Methods of Object Selection and Representation

Hide/Seek was an historic exhibition for its cultural precedent and its connection to the history of censorship and controversy in museological history, but what is sometimes overshadowed is the magnitude of diverse representation featured in the show. The curators of *Hide/Seek*, Jonathan Katz and David C. Ward, focused on the coded language and methods of representation of same-sex desire and sexuality from the early modern period through the modern era. This representation was not limited to concepts of desire and sexuality, but included works that highlighted the role of gender expression, companionship, and loss in fine art and photography.

Though the main focus of the exhibition was the role of same-sex desire in American art, there was not an intentional exclusion of heterosexual artists, subjects, or sexuality. For example, heterosexual artist Marcel Duchamp was featured in two representations, the first of his alter-ego Rrose Sélavy (Appendix B, Fig. 3), challenging the hypermasculinity that fed into the mass-destruction of World War I; and the second, a portrait of the artist by his longtime friend Florine Stettheimer (Appendix B, Fig. 4), who chose to represent Duchamp as an “androgynous, disembodied, light-emanating head.”³⁴ The inclusion of both solidified the importance of a dialogue between artists of different cultures, sexualities, and backgrounds.

According to the exhibition catalogue, the exhibition was composed of 105 works divided in to six sections including: Before Difference 1870-1918, New Geographies/ New Identities, Abstraction, Postwar America: Accommodation and Resistance, Stonewall and More

³⁴ Jonathan D. Katz and David C. Ward, *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2010), 98 – 101.

Modern Identities, and Postmodernism. Each of these sections displayed a variety of methods utilized in representing same sex desire, whether it was a coded representation or much more explicit. What follows is a summary of themes highlighted in each section and key works noted in articles about the exhibition or works that were identified as significant or powerful by visitors' interview responses in the Smithsonian's visitor survey, *Hiding in Plain Sight*.

One of the most noted works in reviews of the show was Thomas Eakins' painting *Salutat* (1898) (Appendix B, Fig. 5). This work was included in the first section of the exhibit, Before Difference: 1870-1918, showing one of the early instances of coded representation. The epitome of masculine athletic revelry is depicted in the artist's representation of the amateur boxer Billy Smith celebrating after a boxing match. In the exhibition catalogue Katz and Ward highlight Smith's devotion to Eakins as a nod to the coded nature of the work.³⁵ Eakins' intentionally erotic image of Smith provides a unique sub context to the common practice of hypermasculine displays of athletic prowess, not only suggesting that the men in the forefront of the image are eyeing up Smith but, also that the viewers themselves are spectators.

The subtle indications of homoerotic desire challenge conventional notions of the male as voyeur by placing the male body as an object of voyeuristic pleasure. This idea challenged the art historical conventions of the time, in which the female was an object to be viewed by the male viewer. By making the male body an object of desire Eakin's shows his own desire while elucidating the potential homoerotic nature of the hypermasculinity of athletic displays in the late 19th century. Other works in this section featured social scenes in which the homoerotic nature of the encounters were similarly coded, but if one were of the same community they would notice the subtle hints to same-sex desire.

³⁵ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 70 – 71.

The following section of the show, *New Geographies/ New Identities*, focused on the fluidity of gender, the sexual revolution of the early 20th century, and the slightly more apparent representation of sexual difference in the works selected. The cover image for the exhibition catalogue for *Hide/Seek, Janet Flanner* by Berenice Abbott (Appendix B, Fig. 6), is a key image from this section of the exhibit. Flanner and her partner, Solita Solano, were key members of early 20th century Parisian salon life, which was largely dominated by “wealthy expatriate lesbians.”³⁶ She was known for her column, “Letter from Paris,” in the *New Yorker*; Flanner would use a “sexually ambiguous” pseudonym *Genêt* to separate her identities.³⁷ Her column focused on known gay and lesbian personalities, providing insight into the Parisian “in” crowd.³⁸

In her portrait of Flanner, Abbott employs the use of two masks to imply her multiple guises, her public one as a journalist who hides her sexuality through her pseudonym and her private identity as a lesbian woman.³⁹ Abbott uses the masks and the masculine attire of Flanner to provide a coded representation of homosexuality, not directly hiding her identity but showing that there is something coded in her presentation. This work highlights the coded nature of representation in the early 20th century, though more explicit than in the late 19th century, this image focuses less on the nature of interpersonal gaze and more on personal representation and the role of gender identity.

The opening of the following section, *Abstraction*, begins with the suicide of the poet Hart Crane, along with the image Marsden Hartley created in memory of Crane, *Eight Bells Folly: Memorial to Hart Crane*, (Appendix B, Fig. 7).⁴⁰ Hartley employs complex symbolism in

³⁶ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 104 – 105.

³⁷ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 104 – 105.

³⁸ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 104 – 105.

³⁹ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 104 – 105.

⁴⁰ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 130 – 131.

reference to the location and time of Crane's death in the image; including a ship, referring to his death at sea, and an eight and two eight pointed stars referring to the time Crane died, at noon or when eight bells toll.⁴¹ The thirty-three in the sail of the ship refers to Crane's age when he died, as Hartley felt that his friend passed away before he was able to complete his work in this life.⁴² Katz notes that Hartley felt gay men could only be represented abstractly, which explains his intentional choice of style for his memorial to Crane as Hartley's later works were less abstract, though similarly expressive.⁴³

Katz notes that this later work by Hartley is in the same German abstractionist style as an earlier painting, *Portrait of a German Officer* (Appendix B, Fig. 8), created in memory of Hartley's lover Karl von Freyburg. In both works Hartley uses heavy symbolism to refer to the subject of the painting, showing a more explicitly coded representation of identity. *Portrait of a German Officer* memorializes Hartley's lost love through the German militarism that he fell in love with just before the war and that resulted in the death of von Freyburg.⁴⁴ The curators focused on the use of abstraction in the work of artists such as Hartley, Georgia O'Keeffe, Charles Demuth, and Lee Miller to explore abstract methods for representation of sexuality and gender expression in the early 20th century.

Following the First and Second World Wars the viewer navigates masculinity and the politics of the early Cold War era through the works of modern artists such as Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenburg, and Andy Warhol.⁴⁵ Pollock as a representation of post-war heterosexual masculinity is also referenced in the opening to this section, though his work is not included in

⁴¹ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 130 – 133, 136 – 137.

⁴² Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 130 – 133.

⁴³ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 130 – 133.

⁴⁴ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 130 – 133.

⁴⁵ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 146 – 149.

Hide/Seek. The importance of the resocialization of the American man after the war meant the development of American ideals for masculinity, the family unit, and the necessary levels of conformity. The curators proposed that the extreme conformity of the 1950s spawned the countercultures that sparked gay liberation, civil rights, and other human rights campaigns. These countercultures lent themselves to the creation of pop art and other postmodern styles that challenged artistic conventions of creativity and representation.⁴⁶

Katz and Ward note Jasper Johns' popular targets in the introduction to this section to highlight the closeted themes of the works and their relationship to the "Lavender Scare" of the 1950s, as "everyone had a target on their back."⁴⁷ John's work, *In Memory of My Feelings – Frank O'Hara*, 1961 (Appendix B, Fig. 9), refers to the artists' personal closet and his representation of the ending of his relationship with Robert Rauschenberg. Though the two never publicly admitted to their intimacy, their relationship fed the creative journey of both artists. As the two challenged the self-informed Abstract Expressionism of the early 20th century they made way for Pop Art and later audience focused movements, like contemporary experiential art.⁴⁸

Though much of Johns' work focuses on what the viewer perceives, *In Memory of My Feelings – Frank O'Hara*, shows the impact of a lost love. O'Hara's poem not only mourns the loss of a love but also suggests that this mourning should inspire creative expression as a way toward spiritual transcendence.⁴⁹ Johns' carries this theme through the work, using the spoon and fork as an allegory for his lost relationship, in reference to the growing differences between the

⁴⁶ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 146 – 149.

⁴⁷ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 146 – 149.; The "Lavender Scare" is a term, similar to the Red Scare, for when American homosexuals were "dismissed" from government positions due to fear that they could be more easily blackmailed by Communists in the wake of the Cold War.

⁴⁸ Duncan Ballantyne-Way, "The Relationship Between Jasper Johns & Robert Rauschenberg," *FineArtMultiple*, accessed March 27, 2019. <https://fineartmultiple.com/blog/jasper-johns-robert-rauschenberg-relationship/>

⁴⁹ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 168 – 169.

two artists. The spoon and fork also act as a supplement to the hinges joining the two canvases. The curators suggest that the hinge offers the potential for the work to be folded up and taken wherever necessary, helping to nourish the artist following the end of the relationship. This could also be seen as an opportunity for spiritual growth and nourishment of the multiplicity of selves referenced in O'Hara's poem as the artist grows following the culmination of his relationship.

Finally we reach the advent of Gay Liberation in the Post-Modern period, marking the "radicalization" of gay politics sparked by the revolution at the Stonewall Inn in 1969. The curators note the initial division of the gay liberation movement between the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and Gay Activist Alliance (GAA); the GLF intended to "liberate sexuality from any barriers" while the GAA argued that there was an "essential gay identity that had to be asserted." This militancy was polarizing. The representation in this section of the exhibition explores the intimacy of portraiture, the impact of the AIDS crisis on gay representation, and the importance of members of the LGBTQ community in popular culture.

The curators acknowledge the importance of David Wojnarowicz' early photographic series, *Arthur Rimbaud in New York*, 1978-79 (Appendix B, Fig. 10, a., b., c., d.), in its representation of gender identity and expression in the public realm. Through this series of images Wojnarowicz merges his experience of New York City in the late 20th century with Arthur Rimbaud's; Rimbaud was "a disruptive genius-poet who wandered the streets of Europe and North Africa, wrote about his homosexuality, and advocated for a systematic 'deranging of all senses'."⁵⁰ Wojnarowicz parallels the flanneristic experiences of himself and Rimbaud with a focus on shifting preconceptions about representation in the public sphere, challenging notions of what is acceptable and what is taboo.

⁵⁰ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 206 – 207.

Wojnarowicz utilizes a mask of Rimbaud in order to simulate the poet's likeness in modern New York City, referencing historical representations of sexuality and gender representation, as we saw in Abbott's image of Janet Flanner. The inclusion of Wojnarowicz' other works solidifies the importance of the artist apart from of the controversial work, *A Fire in My Belly*. Wojnarowicz sought to bring the private into the public space, exposing a corrupt society to the reality of groups that they intentionally marginalize. This was part of Wojnarowicz' intent in creating *A Fire in My Belly*, as raw footage from the film would be used in the 1990 documentary by Rosa von Praunheim, "Silence = Death," which focused on the impact of the AIDS epidemic.⁵¹

In the film, Wojnarowicz focuses on images of poverty, social isolation or rejection, and inequality, exploring "structures of power and control."⁵² Wojnarowicz filmed many of the controversial images from the film on his 1986 visit to Mexico, at Teotihuacán, where he knew he would find fire ants near the pyramids.⁵³ He intentionally brought props including watch faces, the notorious crucifix, coins, and toy soldiers to represent time, spirituality, money, and control respectively.⁵⁴ To Wojnarowicz the ants symbolized "humanity rushing along headless of what lies under its tiny feet, indifferent to the structures that surround it," using the imagery to

⁵¹ Pia Catton, "Recovering a Legacy Lost in the Fire," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 31, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_043]

⁵² In 1988 Wojnarowicz explained the work stating, "The film deals with ancient myth and its modern counterpart. It explores structures of power and control – using at times the fire ants north of Mexico City as a metaphor for social structure... I explore spectacle in the form of the wrestling matches that occur in small arenas in the poor neighborhoods where myth is an accepted part of the sport; the guys with fantastic masks are considered the 'good guys' whereas those without masks are personifications of evil. These images are interspersed with cockfights and TV bullfights. There are sections pertaining to power and control; images of street beggars and little children blowing ten foot long flames among cars at an intersection. Images of armored trucks picking up bank receipts. Images of loaves of bread being sewn up as well as a human mouth – control and silencing through economics. There are invasive aspects of Christianity played against images of Day of the Dead and the earthquake buildings and mummies of northern Mexico. There are symbols of and the need for release."; Cynthia Carr, "Some Sort of Grace," in *The Life and Times of David Wojnarowicz: Fire in the Belly*, (New York: Bloomsberg, 2012), 357.

⁵³ Carr, "Something Turning Emotional and Wild," 338 – 343.

⁵⁴ Carr, "Something Turning Emotional and Wild," 338 – 343.

highlight the ignorance of society, specifically in relation to the suffering of those left without these four main tropes.⁵⁵

Also included in this section is Felix Gonzalez-Torres', "*Untitled*" (*Portrait of Ross in L.A.*), 1991 (Appendix B, Fig. 11), which addresses the physical toll of AIDS on the artists' partner Ross Laycock. Gonzalez-Torres uses individually wrapped candies to represent the physical weight of Ross when he was healthy, offering them for the viewer to take and experience the "sweetness of his own relationship with Ross." This prompts the visitor to engage with the physical work, much like taking communion at a Catholic Mass, contributing to the gradual diminishing of the pile of candies that represents Ross, which is indicative of the slow and gradual degradation of AIDS patients.

Gonzalez-Torres subtly implicates the viewer in the slow erosion of his representation of Ross, offering the sweet candy for pleasure until the pain and loss is fully understood. *Portrait of Ross in L.A.* was noted as very powerful for visitors interviewed for the Smithsonian's visitor study, *Hiding in Plain Sight*. Along with A.A. Bronson's portrait, *Felix, June 5, 1994* (Appendix B, Fig. 12), Gonzalez-Torres' sculpture provided a visceral experience that gave insight into the impact of AIDS on the gay community. Not only was *Felix* striking for its raw visual representation of the physical effects of AIDS but in conjunction with the candies from Gonzalez-Torres' sculpture visitors reflected on the emotional impact of AIDS on the artists and in turn the larger LGBTQ community.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Carr, "The Truth: An Introduction," 3 – 4.

⁵⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 20 – 21.

A.A. Bronson's, *Felix, June 5, 1994*, shows Felix a few hours after his death surrounded by his favorite items and ready to receive visitors.⁵⁷ The description of this work is a quote from Bronson about his lover and their last few months together. Bronson notes that Felix experienced "extreme wasting" due to AIDS, this is reflected in the emaciated figure portrayed in Bronson's image.⁵⁸ During the time before his death, Felix and Bronson along with their colleague Jorge created General Idea, an amalgamation of the three artists where they would use their bodies to represent the world of mass media and advertising.⁵⁹ The final sentence of Bronson's description relinquishes Felix to the world of General Idea and mass media, acknowledging the role of his image in the larger structures of media and visual culture.⁶⁰

The final section of the exhibition aims to tie together the complex history of the LGBTQ community and the complex effects of industrialization, photography, and high capitalism on methods of representation.⁶¹ This section correlates the impact of the Stonewall riots in the advent of gay liberation and the role of the AIDS crisis in the unification of the LGBTQ community. Many of the portraits in this section question the social construct of a gender binary that limits sexuality and gender expression, such as the iconic image of Warhol in drag (Appendix B, Fig. 13), or Cass Bird's image of herself entitled *I Look Just Like My Daddy* (Appendix B, Fig. 14).

Jack Pierson's, *Self-Portrait #3* and *Self-Portrait #28*, 2003 and 2005 (Appendix B, Fig. 15 & 16), deconstruct the role of stereotypes within the LGBTQ community while examining concepts surrounding gender representation and sexuality. Pierson references Frank O'Hara's

⁵⁷ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 228 – 229.

⁵⁸ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 228 – 229.

⁵⁹ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 228 – 229.

⁶⁰ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 228 – 229.

⁶¹ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 230 – 233.

poem, *In Memory of My Feelings*, expressing a similar feeling of several selves that he explores in his series of “self-portraits.” Pierson represents his multiple selves through images of himself as well as images of others, though the two works featured in *Hide/Seek* show Pierson himself emulating a type of “gay-male desirability.”⁶² These pieces dissect socially constructed ideals surrounding concepts of masculinity and femininity, questioning whether “we must be consigned to and accept the masks and roles assigned to us.”⁶³

The curatorial methods of selection for *Hide/Seek* ensured the inclusion of heterosexual, homosexual, and polyamorous artists along with a range of gender representations that facilitate the engagement of the spectrum of LGBTQ identities. Not only was *Hide/Seek* inclusive in its representation of gender identity and sexuality, but also the National Portrait Gallery’s platform provided a unique level of visibility that set the exhibition apart. Though previous exhibitions may have dealt with individual identities in the past, *Hide/Seek* was a comprehensive look at the history of gender representation and sexuality hosted by a national museum.

⁶² Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 278 – 279.

⁶³ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 278 – 279.

Visitor Survey: Hiding in Plain Sight

In March 2010, the Smithsonian released *Hiding in Plain Sight*, the visitor study for *Hide/Seek*, conducted by the Smithsonian's Office of Policy and Analysis. This was most likely to determine the actual impact of the show on its visitors, though there is not concrete evidence of this. The introduction states that the study was requested "shortly after its opening," this does not classify "shortly" in weeks or months, suggesting that the controversy could have prompted the choice to conduct a visitor study. Also noted is the awareness that "*Hide/Seek* was an unusual exhibition for a somewhat conservative institution."⁶⁴ Though the introduction acknowledges and summarizes the controversy, it does not directly state that it prompted the request of the study.⁶⁵

The study consisted of a quantitative survey, composed of entrance and exit surveys, and qualitative interviews with sixty-nine visitors to the exhibition.⁶⁶ The quantitative surveys for the visitor study were conducted between January 21 and 23 2011, a total of 470 entering, 92% of visitors, and 429 exit surveys, 77% of visitors, were considered in this study.⁶⁷ This is seen as a representative sample of all visitors at the time the study was conducted. Visitors' expected

⁶⁴ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Introduction," in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011), 9.

⁶⁵ "About a month after the exhibition opened, the Gallery received complaints from a Catholic advocacy group about an 11-second segment of a video work in *Hide/Seek* by the artist David Wojnarowicz, which portrayed ants crawling over a crucifix. Concerns about this allegedly anti-religious imagery were echoed by some in Congress, who raised the possibility of cutting federal appropriations upon which the Institution relies for salaries, capital funding, and operating expenses. On November 30, 2010, Smithsonian Secretary G. Wayne Clough made a decision to remove Wojnarowicz's work from display, noting that the growing controversy threatened to become a distraction that overshadowed and detracted from the rest of the exhibition. This in turn prompted a number of artists, arts organizations, and free-speech groups to decry the Smithsonian's actions as censorship. Through it all, however, visitors continued to pour into the exhibition in large numbers. Some of them were drawn by the controversy, others by the favorable press coverage that preceded it, and still others by chance. This study looks at what visitors thought and felt about the exhibition; what experiences they had in it; and how various design and thematic aspects of the exhibition struck them."; Office of Policy and Analysis, "Introduction," 9.

⁶⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Executive Summary," in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011), 6.

⁶⁷ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Executive Summary," 6.

experience metrics were considerably pessimistic compared to the exit survey responses from visitors. The anticipated experience of visitors was notably different depending on whether survey respondents were visiting the National Portrait Gallery specifically for *Hide/Seek* or if they had come for another reason.⁶⁸

Though the study states that “more than half of all visitors entered with relatively negative expectations” of *Hide/Seek*, this study categorizes “Good” as a negative anticipated overall experience rating (AOER), which means that a large proportion of respondents offering a moderate expectation response are grouped with those who had unfavorable expectations for the exhibition. For instance, 57% of general visitors to the National Portrait gallery rated their AOER as “Good,” with only 1% and 2% of respondents ranking the exhibition as “Fair” or “Poor” (Appendix C, Fig. 2). This pattern is consistent with first time general visitors, 64% of which ranked their AOER as “Good,” and only 4% ranking lower (Appendix C, Fig. 3).

In comparison to Smithsonian Institution Average exit surveys for overall experience rating (SI Average OER), *Hide/Seek* was within 0.95 to 1.0851 standard deviations of the average for all categories (Appendix C, Fig. 4).⁶⁹ This data suggests that the only noticeable difference between entrance and exit surveys is in the shift in distribution between “good,” “excellent,” and “superior,” further supporting the suggestion that most visitors experienced an enriching and positive experience by connecting with the works presented in *Hide/Seek*. The survey data also suggests that a majority of visitors had little to no problem with the curatorial selection of works which was used to address concepts of sexuality and identity in art.

⁶⁸ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Quantitative Findings,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 58.

⁶⁹ “The Smithsonian average is the average overall rating of exiting visitors at 70 Smithsonian exhibitions studies by OP&A between 2004 and 2010.”; Office of Policy and Analysis, “Quantitative Findings,” 62.

The qualitative interviews for *Hiding in Plain Sight* were conducted by members of the study team for *Hide/Seek*. Members of the team were provided with a guide of general questions to initiate the conversation but were allowed to depart from the guide to clarify interviewees statements.⁷⁰ The team conducted fifty-five “semi-structured” interviews with sixty-nine visitors, participants for the interviews were not selected in any systematic way and “reticent” visitors were not encouraged to participate.⁷¹ The study notes that the methodology for the selection of interviewees would not yield a “representative sample of visitors.”⁷² There was no data collected from those interviewed, such as religion, political affiliation, or sexual orientation.

The qualitative findings were divided into six sections: “Significance,” “Personal Impact,” “Themes and Messages,” “Criticisms,” “Design and Layout,” and finally “Odds and Ends.”⁷³ These sections were broken into two to six subsections based on the types of responses provided by visitors. The first of these sections, “Significance,” is broken down in to “Subject Matter” and “Appropriateness,” which focused on respondents’ perceptions of the exhibition, including the choice of subject matter, and the fact that it was featured at the Smithsonian. Many of the comments highlighted in the “Subject Matter” section underscore the significance of an exhibition of LGBTQ identity in a national space like the National Portrait Gallery, acknowledging the “guts” it took and the importance of homosexuality in culture and society.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Methodology,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 12.

⁷¹ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Methodology,” 12.

⁷² Office of Policy and Analysis, “Methodology,” 12.

⁷³ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Table of Contents,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 2.

⁷⁴ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” in *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Visitor Study of Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture At the National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2011) 13-15.

Some visitors also noted the conservative nature of the Smithsonian, and of Americans, expressing “pleasant surprise” at the museum’s choice to feature the subject in such an exhibit.

The responses in the “Appropriateness” section display some of the controversy surrounding the exhibition, with some respondents echoing Sandell’s sentiments that the museum is a site for provoking thought, challenging public opinions, and stimulating social progress through discourse.⁷⁵ Other respondents felt that the topic might be more difficult for older visitors because of the cultural and social constructs that they grew up with or because of strongly held religious beliefs.⁷⁶ In contrast, though the study team did not talk to many visitors who had strong opinions about the appropriateness of the exhibition, some respondents felt that the Smithsonian was not the right venue for the exhibit, the topic was inappropriate for children, and the exhibition was offensive to more conservative demographics of visitors to the NPG.⁷⁷

The following section, “Personal Impact,” was considered by the study team to be one of the “most striking” aspects of the visitor responses collected from *Hide/Seek*. This section is broken in to three subsections, “Emotional Response,” “Discomfort,” and “Connecting to Personal Experiences.” In the first subsection, “Emotional Response,” respondents’ statements touched on the intense sadness and empathic grief experienced when looking at the image of *Felix, June 5, 1994*, (Appendix B, Fig. 12); *Untitled (Portrait of Ross in L.A.)* (Appendix B, Fig. 11); and *Unfinished Painting* (Appendix B, Fig. 17); and the other works from the AIDS portion of the exhibition.⁷⁸ The following subsection, “Discomfort,” included responses to Felix Gonzalez-Torres’ sculpture, *Untitled (Portrait of Ross in L.A.)*, the sexually explicit content and nudity prevalent in of many of the works selected for the exhibition, and the uneasy response

⁷⁵ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 15-18.

⁷⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 16-18.

⁷⁷ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 15-16.

⁷⁸ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 18-20.

engendered by the sex of the subjects.⁷⁹ In the final subsection, “Connecting to Personal Experiences,” many visitors, some of whom self-identified as members of the LGBTQ community, remembered the peak of the AIDS crisis and its impact on many of their close friends and partners. These visitors, identified with the artists’ experiences and discussed growing up with little LGBTQ representation; they emphasized the importance and accomplishments of the *Hide/Seek* exhibition and its range of representation.⁸⁰

The third section of the qualitative responses, “Themes and Messages,” is broken in to six sub-sections, “Gay Codes,” “Hidden Selves,” “Historical Progress Towards Openness,” “Acceptance,” “The Unremarkable Side of the Gay Community,” and “It’s All About the Art.” It is noted that though this section is roughly categorized, many of the responses could apply to more than one of the categories. In the first subsection, “Gay Codes,” respondents acknowledged the social constructs and influences that informed the development of the coded methods of representation as well as the subtle indications of same-sex desire highlighted in *Hide/Seek*.⁸¹ The following subsection, “Hidden Selves,” expands on these ideas emphasizing the internal struggle underlying many of these works, as many of the artists and subjects must have wanted to be true to themselves but were encouraged by society to suppress their true self.⁸²

In the subsection “Historical Progress Towards Openness,” respondents commented on the historical trend toward the acceptance of LGBTQ identities and how it can be seen through the exhibition.⁸³ Responses in this section also reflect a need to challenge current social

⁷⁹ Many respondents noted that the emphasis on male nudity was not as common in Western cultures which may contribute to the discomfort expressed by many visitors.; Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 20 - 24.

⁸⁰ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 24-27.

⁸¹ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 28-30.

⁸² Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 30-32.

⁸³ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 33-34.

constructs and reflect society's forward motion toward a greater level of acceptance toward identities that challenge common social norms. The subsection "Acceptance," discussed the importance of members of the gay community as human beings rather than "representatives of gay America" while also acknowledging the variety of identities included within the LGBTQ spectrum.⁸⁴ The few responses included in this section also discuss the indistinct differences between gay culture and American culture that are shown in the work, noting the simplicity and subtle coding of many of the images.

The section entitled, "The Unremarkable Side of the Gay Community," addressed the influence of the community on American culture, acknowledged the variety of cultures and identities in the LGBTQ community, and the highlighted the difficulty of representing all of them in one exhibition.⁸⁵ A response in this section also emphasizes the mundanity of some of the images and the beauty in everyone, independent of their sexuality or gender identity.⁸⁶ The following section, "It's All About the Art," voiced a similar opinion about the exhibition, with respondents emphasizing the importance of the artistic merit of the work independent of the homosexual lens of interpretation.⁸⁷ One respondent explained that "gay and lesbian art should just [be treated] the same as [any] art."⁸⁸ Other respondents shared their personal interest in the variety of works included in the exhibition and the diversity of artistic representation, acknowledging that there was a large degree of artistic merit displayed in much of the work.⁸⁹

The following category of focus is "Criticism" of the exhibition which is sub-divided into the topics of "Gender, Racial, and Geographic Imbalance," "Emotional Imbalance," "Thematic

⁸⁴ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 34-36.

⁸⁵ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 36-37.

⁸⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 36-37.

⁸⁷ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 37-39.

⁸⁸ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 37.

⁸⁹ Office of Policy and Analysis, "Qualitative Findings," 37-39.

Scope,” and “Not Edgy Enough.” The main criticisms found in the first subsection noted that the representation of lesbian identities was relatively sparse in comparison to that of gay identities and visitors felt there was little racial diversity present despite the inclusion of members of the Black community from the Harlem Renaissance, Lyle Ashton Harris, and “an Asian artist.”⁹⁰ Another noted bias within the exhibition is the focus on East Coast culture, specifically artists’ from New York and Boston.⁹¹ The subsection “Emotional Imbalance” highlighted the exhibitions intense focus on issues surrounding AIDS, death, heartbreak and tragedy, rather than happiness, family, or love.⁹² Another respondent disagreed with these sentiments but the study does not attempt to include all visitor responses so it is difficult to identify whether this was a significant criticism of the exhibit.⁹³

The following two subsections, “Thematic Scope” and “Not Edgy Enough,” questioned the criteria for inclusion in the exhibit, noting respondents confusion as to whether all of the artists included in the exhibit were gay and the criticism that those included were not “edgy” enough, emphasizing the need for “visionary” artists less-prominent in the art historical canon.⁹⁴ A museum professional who addressed the thematic scope of the exhibition noted that one of the key aspects of the argument from the catalog, the intersection between LGBTQ artists and “straight” artists’ representations of gay culture or homoeroticism, was not featured as prominently in the physical exhibition.⁹⁵ The argument for more “visionary” artists’ was acknowledged by the respondent as potentially difficult for an institution like the National Portrait Gallery, noting a level of “familiarity” necessary to engage the general audience the

⁹⁰ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 40-41.

⁹¹ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 41.

⁹² Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 41-42.

⁹³ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 41-42.

⁹⁴ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 42-44.

⁹⁵ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 42-43.

museum serves. The final response in this section frames *Hide/Seek* as an important starting point, expressing a hope for future exhibitions that engage with the more provocative aspects of gender, sexuality, and LGBTQ representation.⁹⁶

“Design and Layout” is broken down into “Layout and General Presentation,” “Placement Within NPG,” “Labels/Text,” and “Number of Artworks.” The subsections “Layout and General Presentation” and “Placement Within NPG,” include complaints about design elements, such as the unclear organization of the exhibit, the layout of the physical galleries, and the lead in from the President’s gallery.⁹⁷ Though the exhibit was criticized for not having a distinct organization many visitors expressed pleasure in how spacious the gallery was, the general flow of the works, and the neutral color pallet of the exhibition space that complimented the works.⁹⁸ It is important to note that comments about the layout and organization of the exhibition were both favorable and unfavorable, as many of the sections of the visitor study acknowledge, emphasizing not only the diversity of interpretation but also the inability to please every visitor to the museum.

In the final two subsections of the “Design and Layout” section, “Labels/Text” and “Number of Artworks,” focus on the audience reception of the didactic and artistic content of *Hide/Seek*. The comments in the label section note that the wall text was comprehensive and interesting, engaging visitors who were often less prone to read the didactic material because of the depth of interpretation found in the text.⁹⁹ Some respondents did note that the text was a little small and difficult to read with other visitors around but this is often a criticism of didactic texts

⁹⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 44.

⁹⁷ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 44-50.

⁹⁸ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 44-46.

⁹⁹ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 48-50.

in any exhibition.¹⁰⁰ The feedback collected regarding the number of artworks included in the show reflected the full spectrum of potential responses to the scope of the exhibition, with some expressing an interest in seeing more while others felt the exhibit was already too large with the works included.¹⁰¹ One important variable that should be noted with these responses is the differences in visitor engagement styles and the variability in approaches to the work that influence the diversity of responses in this section.

The final section of the qualitative findings, “Odds and Ends,” is organized into subsections including “The Controversy,” “Cell Phone Guide,” and finally “Website.” In the first subsection, which addressed the topic of the controversy, it is noted that the exhibition gained attendance due to the media and conservative response to the show.¹⁰² Respondents articulated an understanding of the Smithsonian’s actions despite many expressing their disapproval with the choice to remove a work from the exhibition.¹⁰³ In contrast, some respondents felt the Smithsonian’s reaction was impulsive and dismissive of the LGBTQ community as well as potentially damning for the Institution and its relationship with sources of funding like the Warhol foundation.¹⁰⁴ Also acknowledged in this subsection is the debatable nature of the anti-religious interpretation of *A Fire in My Belly* that sparked the controversy in the first place.¹⁰⁵

The final two subsections in the qualitative portion of the study focused on visitors criticism of the cell phone guide and website for *Hide/Seek*. The two main criticisms of the cell phone guide focused on the tone of the narrator and the lack of clarity in regards to what works

¹⁰⁰ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 50.

¹⁰¹ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 50-51.

¹⁰² Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 52.

¹⁰³ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 51-53.

¹⁰⁴ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 53-54.

¹⁰⁵ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 55.

were included on the tour.¹⁰⁶ Visitors also noted that docents are just as effective for providing this information and cost less for the museum to make and maintain, which supports the argument for engaging visitors through the use of programming and interpersonal communication.¹⁰⁷ Respondents also felt that the in person experience of *Hide/Seek* was much more impactful than the website, though the website was an interesting preview for the exhibition.¹⁰⁸

The visitor survey for *Hide/Seek, Hiding in Plain Sight*, provides unique insight into visitors experiences with the exhibition as a whole, acknowledging the true impact of much of the work and the community voice that was not heard following the initial controversy surrounding the exhibit. It highlights the emotional, educational, and societal influences of the exhibit through the voices of its community members. The visitor survey also displays how significant the difference was between the community perception of the exhibition and the conservative response that prompted the controversy was, reinforcing the idea that the museum must look to its community as a whole rather than simply responding to those who criticize the museum.

¹⁰⁶ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 56.

¹⁰⁷ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 56.

¹⁰⁸ Office of Policy and Analysis, “Qualitative Findings,” 56-57.

The Controversy: A Fire in the Galleries of *Hide/Seek*

Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture was exhibited at the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery from October 30, 2010, through February 13, 2011.¹⁰⁹ The exhibition was initially well-received by visitors and critics alike, avoiding targeted criticism until the end of its first month on display. On November 29, Penny Starr, a reporter from CNSNews, released a review of the exhibition.¹¹⁰ It framed the exhibition as sexually perverted and anti-religious, with an intentional focus on "homoeroticism," but failed to note the diverse and beautiful portraiture which made up the bulk of the work on exhibit.¹¹¹ Starr's criticism also distorted the meaning of not only *A Fire in My Belly*, but also the overall intent of the exhibition.

Starr's article, "Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit Features Ant-Covered Jesus, Naked Brothers Kissing, Genitalia, and Ellen DeGeneres Grabbing her Breasts," sparked backlash from a multitude of conservative media outlets.¹¹² Her focus on the inclusion of David Wojnarowicz' 1986-1987 film, *A Fire in My Belly*, which featured a film segment depicting ants crawling across a crucifix, provided a target for conservative critics who had never seen the show.¹¹³ Consequentially, many of those who spoke out against *Hide/Seek* had in fact never seen the breadth of the exhibition, and were simply familiar with the controversy about Wojnarowicz'

¹⁰⁹ Smithsonian Institute, "Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture," *National Portrait Gallery*, October 30, 2010. <https://npg.si.edu/exhibition/hideseek-difference-and-desire-american-portraiture>

¹¹⁰ Penny Starr, "Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit Features Ant-Covered Jesus, Naked Brothers Kissing, Genitalia, and Ellen DeGeneres Grabbing her Breasts," *CNSNews.com*, November 29, 2010. <https://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/smithsonian-christmas-season-exhibit-features-ant-covered-jesus-naked-brothers-kissing>

¹¹¹ Terry Krepel, "Manufactured Outrage Over Smithsonian Art Exhibit," *Huffington Post*, May 25, 2011. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/terry-krepel/manufactured-outrage-over_b_790220.html; Jonathan D. Katz, David C. Ward, "Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture," *The National Portrait Gallery*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2010).

¹¹² David Katz and Bart Everly, "A Fire In My Belly Controversy," *David Wojnarowicz Knowledge Base*, last edited April 21, 2017. http://www.cs.nyu.edu/ArtistArchives/KnowledgeBase/index.php?title=A_Fire_in_My_Belly_Controversy&oldid=4258

¹¹³ Krepel, "Manufactured Outrage."

film. According to later accounts of the controversy, Starr contacted members of Congress for comments on the show, intentionally drawing their attention to the originally uncontroversial exhibition.¹¹⁴

Starr called attention to the public funding of the National Portrait Gallery in the very first sentence of her article, noting the Smithsonian's annual budget of \$761 million; which, she notes, is 65% federally funded.¹¹⁵ She highlighted the meager \$5.8 million of that federal funding designated for the National Portrait Gallery, though she conceded that according to Linda St. Thomas, the spokesperson for the Smithsonian, none of these federal funds were used to finance exhibits.¹¹⁶ In fact, *Hide/Seek* was funded through the contribution of private donors and foundations, including the Calamus Foundation, the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, and the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation.¹¹⁷ Starr's intentional criticism of the Smithsonian's funding was meant to spark controversy in Congress, as Starr knew it would result in a response similar to the NEA funding debates of the 1990s Culture Wars.

Shortly after Starr's article was published, minority leaders Eric Cantor and John Boehner threatened that unless the show was closed, there was potential for a Smithsonian funding cut in the next federal budget.¹¹⁸ Cantor expressed his discontent with the Smithsonian's use of taxpayer money, stating that the show was "an obvious attempt to offend Christians during

¹¹⁴ Sebastian Smee, "Offensive? ICA lets the public decide," *The Boston Globe*, December 16, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_032]

¹¹⁵ Penny Starr, "Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit Features Ant-Covered Jesus, Naked Brothers Kissing, Genitalia, and Ellen DeGeneres Grabbing her Breasts," *CNSNews.com*, November 29, 2010. <https://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/smithsonian-christmas-season-exhibit-features-ant-covered-jesus-naked-brothers-kissing>

¹¹⁶ Starr, "Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit."

¹¹⁷ Starr, "Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit."

¹¹⁸ Smee, "Offensive." [13-084_NPG_HS1_032]

the Christmas season.”¹¹⁹ The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights also issued a call to action, claiming that Wojnarowicz’ film showed ants “eating away at Jesus on a crucifix.”¹²⁰ In their call to action, the president of the Catholic League, Bill Donohue, denounced the work as “hate speech” and requested that there be a review of federal funding for the Smithsonian.¹²¹

As the outcry became increasingly severe and public funding for the Smithsonian was threatened, the Secretary of the Smithsonian, G. Wayne Clough, decided to pull the controversial piece from the show. On November 30, *A Fire in My Belly* was removed from the galleries of *Hide/Seek*. This ignited a new controversy about freedom of expression, censorship, and the role of museums in mediating dissonant opinions. In a later article from *The Washington Post*, Richard Kurin, the Smithsonian’s Undersecretary for Art, History, and Culture, explained that *A Fire In My Belly* was considered a “‘distraction’ to an overall ground breaking show.”¹²² He was acknowledging the importance of the exhibition independent of the controversy, but failing to address the role of external criticism in the choice to withdraw the work.

Following the decision to remove Wojnarowicz’ film, there were a series of protests at the National Portrait Gallery, as well as a plethora of exhibition protests by other galleries and foundations.¹²³ On December 1, just two days after the censorship of work, the Transformer Gallery, a near-by artist-run gallery, began screening the film in their street front window in

¹¹⁹ Smee, “Offensive.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_032]

¹²⁰ Bill Donohue, “Smithsonian Hosts Anti-Christian Exhibit,” *Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights*, November 30, 2010. <https://www.catholicleague.org/smithsonian-hosts-anti-christian-exhibit-2/>

¹²¹ Donohue, “Anti-Christian Exhibit.”

¹²² Jacqueline Trescott, “Smithsonian addresses staff fears, fallout over video controversy,” *The Washington Post*, December 10, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_042]

¹²³ By exhibition protests, I mean that there were protests in galleries and art spaces coordinated by the curatorial and exhibitions staff. This most often included screening the film but for some institutions also entailed a public discussion, forum, or symposium.

protest of the censorship.¹²⁴ Transformer later moved their screening of the full 13-minute film into the gallery space instead of in their store front.¹²⁵ The following day, the gallery helped to organize a demonstration of roughly 100 people to march from the Transformer Gallery to the National Portrait Gallery.¹²⁶ The demonstration mirrored Wojnarowicz' 1978-1979 series *Arthur Rimbaud in New York*, which examined identity politics and queer visibility and representation in contemporary art, emphasizing the need for advocacy when faced with homophobic backlash.¹²⁷ Protestors donned Wojnarowicz' iconic Rimbaud mask, along with similar masks of Wojnarowicz' face with his lips sewn closed, Fig. 18.¹²⁸

Just days after the censorship of *A Fire in My Belly*, on December 4, the "iPad protestors," Michael Blasenstein and Michael Iacovone, situated themselves in the galleries of *Hide/Seek*.¹²⁹ Blasenstein stood with an iPad hung from his neck playing Wojnarowicz' film, while Iacovone documented the protest.¹³⁰ They handed out flyers explaining that the protest was an attempt to reinstate the work in *Hide/Seek* and provided information about the controversy to visitors.¹³¹ The pair were only able to exhibit the work for about ten minutes before being

¹²⁴ "Outraged Museums and Artists Unite in Protest of Smithsonian Censorship," *ARTINFO.com*, December 6, 2010. Box 1, Folder 38. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS2_06]

¹²⁵ "BlogBacks on 'Hide/Seek' (and new exposure Wojnarowicz) UPDATED," *Arts Journal*, December 4, 2010. Box 1, Folder 38. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS2_09]

¹²⁶ Jessica Dawson, "Galleries: Demonstrators gather to protest removal of Wojnarowicz art from NPG," *The Washington Post*, December 3, 2010. Box 1, Folder 38. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS2_013]

¹²⁷ Salvador Nadales, "Arthur Rimbaud in New York," *Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia*, 2019. <https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/artwork/arthur-rimbaud-new-york-28>

¹²⁸ Kriston Capps, "iPad Protestors to Return to National Portrait Gallery With Trailer – and Permits," *Washington City Paper*, January 5, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_04]

¹²⁹ Richard Sandell, "Progress and Protest," *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights*, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 1.

¹³⁰ Sandell, "Progress and Protest," 1.

¹³¹ Sandell, "Progress and Protest," 1.

forcefully removed by law enforcement and permanently banned from the National Portrait Gallery.¹³²

Following the iPad protests, Blasenstein and Iacovone created the “Museum of Censored Art,” which was open from January to February of 2011, during the last two months of *Hide/Seek*.¹³³ The “museum” was housed in a trailer outside the National Portrait Gallery on F Street and consisted of Wojnarowicz’ censored film and exhibits detailing the timeline of the controversy which “examin[ed] the roles of the pressure groups as well as the Smithsonian.”¹³⁴ The Museum of Censored Art was intended to “hold the Smithsonian accountable” for the censorship of *A Fire In My Belly*, acting as a physical reminder of the Smithsonian’s decision and engaging with the true cause of the censorship.¹³⁵ Blasenstein hoped the “museum” might persuade the Smithsonian to reinstate the video; but despite the Smithsonian’s ultimate failure to do so, the Museum of Censored Art provided continued exposure of the work.¹³⁶

Following the initial media controversy surrounding the Smithsonian’s choice to censor the film, Martin Sullivan, director of the National Portrait Gallery, released this statement addressing the complaints:

I regret that some reports about the exhibit have created an impression that the video is intentionally sacrilegious... In fact, the artist's intention was to depict the suffering of an AIDS victim. It was not the museum's intention to offend. We are removing the video today. The museum's statement at the exhibition's entrance, 'This exhibition contains mature themes,' will remain in place.¹³⁷

¹³² Kriston Capps, “Banned in D.C.: Activists Detained at National Portrait Gallery, Banned From Smithsonian”, *Washington City Paper*, December 5, 2010. <https://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/arts/blog/13074709/banned-in-d-c-activists-detained-at-national-portrait-gallery-banned-from-smithsonian>

¹³³ Kyle Chayka, “Banned NPG Protesters Plan Museum of Censored Art,” *Hyperallergic*, January 5, 2011. <https://hyperallergic.com/16079/museum-censored-art/>

¹³⁴ Capps, “iPad Protesters to Return.” [14-069_NPG_HS1_04]

¹³⁵ Capps, “iPad Protesters to Return.” [14-069_NPG_HS1_04]

¹³⁶ Capps, “iPad Protesters to Return.” [14-069_NPG_HS1_04]

¹³⁷ “Ants Video: Art or Hate Speech?” *ABC News*, December 3, 2010. Box 1, Folder 38. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS2_08]

In explaining the museum's intent and plan of action, Sullivan's response notes the significant difference between the intent of the artist and conservative critics' reaction to the piece. This is one of the only outright acknowledgments of the role of conservative media in the controversy, as later public statements would frame the censorship as a response to general negative feedback regarding the film. Sullivan's statement acknowledges the dissonance between cultural communities but should have been taken further to inform programming about the controversy. This programming could have helped visitors process and interpret the work for themselves, separate from the controversy, and frame the censorship in relation to the media response. Though this would not retroactively mend the wounds the Smithsonian had created it would have helped the community to navigate the various perspectives that influenced the institutions choice to censor the work.

As the museum did not confront public discontent in a meaningful way, the controversy continued to rage on, and the art community continued to express their discontent with the censorship of Wojnarowicz' film. Throughout December 2010 and into the early months of 2011, galleries and museums across the country screened *A Fire in My Belly* in protest of the Smithsonian's censorship of the work, including notable museums like the Smart Museum of Art, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and the New Museum.¹³⁸ The Philadelphia Museum of Art went so far as to mount an exhibition inspired by the controversy, *Photography*

¹³⁸ "Smithsonian censorship yields solidarity in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_020]; Jerry Saltz, "Jerry Saltz Answers Your Questions About Bad Art, Good Biographies, and the Smithsonian Controversy," *Nymag.com*, December 17, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_029]; Smee, "Offensive." [13-084_NPG_HS1_032]; "Could SFMOMA's engagement indicate a turning point?," *ArtInfo*, December 14, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_039]

and Politics in Contemporary Art, in August of 2011.¹³⁹ Despite the fear that this act of self-censorship would initiate a trend in museums, the Smithsonian's response, or lack thereof, prompted other members of the museum community to further engage with the topic of LGBTQ identity and censorship in museums.

The internal response from members of the Smithsonian was similarly negative. On December 9, the National Portrait Gallery's commissioner, James T. Bartlett, resigned in protest of the Smithsonian's choice to censor film.¹⁴⁰ The staff at the National Museum of American History voiced their concerns in a meeting with Richard Kurin, the Undersecretary for Art, History, and Culture for the Smithsonian.¹⁴¹ The general community response, not only outside of the museum but internally, begged the Smithsonian to reevaluate their decision or at very least engage with the rationale behind the choice. This can also be understood through external funders' response to the censorship, though it is argued that the withdrawal of further funding by organizations was not an effective response to the controversy.

On December 13, the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts announced that they would withhold all future funding from the national museum unless *A Fire in My Belly* was reinstated.¹⁴² The foundation "strongly condemned" the institutions' choice to remove the film, noting the incongruencies between this action and the goals and values of both the Smithsonian

¹³⁹ Stephan Salisbury, "Scenes From Culture Wars in Art Museum Photo Show," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 21, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_063]

¹⁴⁰ "Smithsonian Fallout Update: An Official Resigns, Stephen Colbert Weighs in, and Wojnarowicz Shows Abound," *ARTINFO.com*, December 10, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_045]

¹⁴¹ Trescott, "Smithsonian addresses staff fears."

¹⁴² Tyler Green, "Warhol Foundation threat was a missed opportunity." *ArtInfo*, December 14, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_035]

and the Warhol Foundation.¹⁴³ Just days later, the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation suspended future funding for the Smithsonian after initially announcing that they would continue to support the National Portrait Gallery and its programming despite the controversy.¹⁴⁴ This act of solidarity between artists' foundations created further pressure, which the Smithsonian struggled to address. The art world was prepared to put up a fight for representation and freedom of speech that history would never forget.

On December 15, the photographer A.A. Bronson requested that his work *Felix, June 5, 1994*, be withdrawn from *Hide/Seek* until the reinstatement of Wojnarowicz' film.¹⁴⁵ The large format photograph of Bronson's partner, Felix Partz, depicts Partz lying in bed surrounded by his favorite objects hours after he died of complications related to AIDS.¹⁴⁶ Bronson's photograph resembles a similar image taken by Wojnarowicz of his partner and mentor, Peter Hujar, after Hujar's death in 1987. The artist's choice to withdraw the piece was a symbolic act of solidarity with "an artist who's not here to defend himself."¹⁴⁷

The Smithsonian rejected Bronson's request to withdraw his image, explaining that they intended to keep the rest of the exhibition intact.¹⁴⁸ Ward later commented that removing Bronson's image, which is a key representation of the "suffering and silence of AIDS victims,"

¹⁴³ "Warhol Foundation Threatens to Cut Smithsonian Funding If Censored Video Is Not Reinstated," *ARTINFO.com*, December 13, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_037]

¹⁴⁴ "Mapplethorpe Foundation Withdraws Support for Smithsonian Exhibitions," *Washington City Paper*, December 17, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_018]

¹⁴⁵ "Arts Policy: Smithsonian Rebuffs Artist AA Bronson as Censored 'Hide/Seek' Organizers Continue to Shrug," *ARTINFO.com*, December 16, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_028]

¹⁴⁶ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 228-229.

¹⁴⁷ "Arts Policy: Smithsonian Rebuffs Artist," *ARTINFO.com*. [13-084_NPG_HS1_028]

¹⁴⁸ "Canadian Museum Backs Smithsonian Protest," *New York Times*, December 17, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_019]

would have undermined the entire exhibition.¹⁴⁹ This argument was employed often when justifying the retention of the other works in the show, but was not considered when discussing the importance of Wojnarowicz' film in the context of the exhibition. When the loan agreement for *Felix* was written, Bronson agreed to lend the work to the National Portrait Gallery under the "implicit understanding that the Smithsonian would not censor its presentation of GLBT or AIDS-afflicted artists."¹⁵⁰ This came into question after the censorship of *A Fire in My Belly*. Bronson continued to request that the loaning institution, the National Gallery of Canada, formally withdraw the work and appeal the legal terms of the loan. The work was not removed from the show prior to the close of the exhibition.

A day after Bronson's initial request, on December 16, co-curators Jonathan Katz and David Ward facilitated a public discussion of *Hide/Seek* at the New York Public Library. The talk initially focused on the art historical aspects of the exhibition, as the curators discussed key works from the show, but this became the background of the discussion after the controversy was acknowledged.¹⁵¹ Many of these later statements were seen by critics as inflammatory, including Dr. Katz's statement that the Catholic League is the American iteration of the Taliban.¹⁵² Dr. Ward was quoted as framing the lefts as problematic for its own focus on ideological purity and the vulnerability this leaves for "enemies" to overpower them, framing the exhibition as an

¹⁴⁹ "Silence = Unprofessional: The Wojnarowicz Panel," *Washington City Paper*, December 21, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_011]

¹⁵⁰ "Silence = Unprofessional." [13-084_NPG_HS1_011]

¹⁵¹ Philip Kennicott, "Video outcry flares anew: 'Hide/Seek' curators try to keep art on the agenda in discussion in New York," *The Washington Post*, December 16, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

¹⁵² Kennicott, "Video outcry flares anew." [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

attempt to “crystalize” the long term presence of the LGBTQ community as a opposition to conservative politics.¹⁵³

Ward and Katz acknowledged that the response to the censorship was quick, lamenting lack of a “fighting retreat.” The curators expressed their concern for the lasting impact of removing the work, noting the potential for other institutions to shy away from the topic because of the conservative response to the exhibition, a sentiment reiterated many times in relation to the controversy surround the show.¹⁵⁴ Though the curators addressed much of the controversy along with the significance of the other works still on exhibit in the show, Bill Dobbs called out Martin Sullivan, the director of the National Portrait Gallery, during the question portion of the talk, telling him to reinstate the work.¹⁵⁵ Sullivan expressed his understanding of the sentiment, explaining that the decision to remove the work was not his own but rather Clough’s.¹⁵⁶ The director also acknowledged that if it had been possible to screen the film clip in a separate space the controversy may have been avoided entirely, but because the National Portrait Gallery is a part of the Smithsonian it must abide by the decision made by the Secretary.¹⁵⁷

The director and curators were placed in an extremely difficult situation, offering empathy with those in opposition to the censorship and acknowledging the missteps of the Secretary, but limited in their response, unable to reinstate the work or comment on the intent behind the censorship. This complicated the issue even further and shifted the focus of panels originally intended to discuss the exhibition to engaging the Secretary’s choice to remove the

¹⁵³ Lee Rosenbaum, “‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’: A Useful Policy for the ‘Hide/Seek’ Show at National Portrait Gallery,” *The Huffington Post*, December 21, 2010. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/dont-ask-dont-tell-a-usef_b_799414

¹⁵⁴ Kennicott, “Video outcry flares anew.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

¹⁵⁵ Kennicott, “Video outcry flares anew.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

¹⁵⁶ Kennicott, “Video outcry flares anew.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

¹⁵⁷ Kennicott, “Video outcry flares anew.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_031]

work and the public response to his decision. This effectively overshadowed the true accomplishments of *Hide/Seek*, while complicating the discussion surrounding the exhibition and making it difficult to talk about the show without addressing the choice to censor the work and its implications.

On December 18, an estimated 500 artists, curators, activists, and members of the LGBTQ community in New York City, organized by Dobbs, held a march from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum protesting the censorship of Wojnarowicz' film.¹⁵⁸ The protestors were blocked from entering the museum but stood along the street with signs and banners which referenced the 1980s AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) AIDS campaign "Silence = Death" and called for the Smithsonian to end their censorship of Wojnarowicz' work.¹⁵⁹ Many of the protests that took place in response to the Smithsonian's decision to censor Wojnarowicz' film took care to highlight the role of AIDS in the artist's work and career. The battle was not simply for freedom of speech or expression, but for the right to discuss topics that had been swept under the rug, because they were considered too taboo to be a part of our nation's history.

On December 20, the Washington Jewish Community Center (DCJCC) hosted "hide/SPEAK: An Evening with David C. Ward of the National Portrait Gallery," a panel discussion with co-curator David Ward; Transformer gallery director, Victoria Reis; ARTINFO

¹⁵⁸ "New Yorkers Protest Smithsonian Censorship," *The Advocate*, December 20, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_024]

¹⁵⁹ Daniella Zaleman, "Protesters at Met Rally for Artwork," *The Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_022]; The Silence = Death Project reinterprets the upside down pink triangle used to categorize homosexuals in concentration camps during World War Two as a pro-gay symbol. The upright pink triangle along with the slogan "Silence = Death" became a symbol of the 1980s AIDS crisis and AIDS activism for years to come.

blogger Tyler Green; and DCJCC Bronfman Gallery director Dafna Steinberg.¹⁶⁰ The panel was a collaborative effort between DCJCC and the Transformer Gallery, as a part of the former's Rapid Response series and Transformer's FRAMEWORK Panel Series.¹⁶¹ Though the panel featured three other panelists, David Ward was the focus, discussing the censorship of *A Fire in My Belly* and the National Portrait Gallery's rejection of A.A. Bronson's request to withdraw *Felix*, June 5, 1994.¹⁶²

Ward emphasized the importance of the controversy in revealing how "elements of sexuality, same-sex desire, homosexuality, and lesbianism are silenced in the museum world."¹⁶³ Hide/SPEAK was among the various efforts across the country to come to terms with the implications of the removal of *A Fire in My Belly*. The community understood that there was the need for a much larger dialogue about the role of museums in moderating discussions about identity and intersectionality. Though this was one of the first public symposia about the controversy it would not be the last, but would notably be the least controversial. The beginning of the controversy offered potential for the Smithsonian to change its initial decision and reinstate the work, which meant that Ward was able to speak about the issue in a considerably matter-of-fact way. As the controversy would go on and other artists, museums, and cultural institutions would continue to speak out, the conversation surrounding the topic would become more difficult to navigate.

¹⁶⁰ "Hide/Seek Co-Curator: Pulled Video 'Was A Lucky Hit,'" *DCist*, December 21, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084-NPG_HS1_010]

¹⁶¹ "hide/SPEAK," The Washington DC Jewish Community Center, December 10, 2010. http://transformerdc.org/documents/Transformer_Hide-Speak.pdf

¹⁶² "Hide/Seek." *DCist*. [13-084-NPG_HS1_010]

¹⁶³ "Hide/Seek." *DCist*. [13-084-NPG_HS1_010]

In mid-December, inspired by the actions of A.A. Bronson, collector Jim Hedges contacted Martin Sullivan to request the withdrawal of his loan of *Untitled, Self-Portrait*, by Jack Pierson.¹⁶⁴ Hedges received a response from Sullivan, along with outreach from David Ward, Jonathan Katz, and Secretary Clough, who had not even addressed the curators about the controversy.¹⁶⁵ Interestingly, Hedges claimed that Sullivan's response was insensitive, explaining the curatorial opposition to the decision, Clough and the Regents position on maintaining the exhibition intact, and the importance of the show separate from the controversy; yet Hedges decided to rescind his request to remove the work after speaking with Secretary Clough.¹⁶⁶

By this time Clough had yet to address the controversy directly. His first interviews with media outlets were conducted on January 18 with Kate Taylor, from *The New York Times*, and Jackie Trescott, for *The Washington Post*. In both interviews Clough defended his decision, though he concedes that it may have been made in haste.¹⁶⁷ Though Clough notes that Smithsonian strives to be on the forefront of the dialogue about current issues, he contradicts himself by postponing the institutional discussion of the controversy. The Secretary did not directly address the media until three months after the initial controversy and, from what documentation is currently available, failed to encourage the National Portrait Gallery to offer further programming about the controversy through the museum.

¹⁶⁴ Jim Hedges, "Jim Hedges: Smithsonian Stands Firm on Censorship, Congressional Checkbook Trumps Constitution," *The Huffington Post*, January 1, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_015]

¹⁶⁵ Hedges, "Smithsonian Stands Firm on Censorship." [14-069_NPG_HS1_015]; "Smithsonian secretary speaks to collector, but not curator," *TBD.com*, January 12, 2011. Box 2, Folder 4. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_016]

¹⁶⁶ "Smithsonian secretary speaks." [14-069_NPG_HS1_016]; Ncacblog, "Responding to Censorship," *National Coalition Against Censorship*, January 10, 2011. <https://ncac.org/blog/responding-to-censorship>

¹⁶⁷ Jacqueline Trescott, "Clough defends removal of video," *The Washington Times*, January 19 2011. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/18/AR2011011806129.html>

The Smithsonian released a statement by the Secretary the morning of his first public appearance since the start of the controversy, January 20, 2011. Clough briefly summarizes the controversy, noting that despite calls to remove the show completely, *Hide/Seek* remained on view for visitors.¹⁶⁸ He goes on to address the Smithsonian's complex role as a national institution, limiting its involvement in the dialogue to facilitating the exposure of the topics in *Hide/Seek* to the "largest possible audience."¹⁶⁹ Though he acknowledges the importance of the inclusion of diverse perspectives, Clough defends his decision to remove the controversial film on the grounds that it was the best decision for the "long-term strength" of the Smithsonian.¹⁷⁰ He also notes his belief that this was the "best option for ensuring the exhibition remained open," though there is little proof that the controversy would not have subsided if the film had not been removed.¹⁷¹

The final two paragraphs of Clough's statement deal with the Smithsonian's internal and external communication and its ability to facilitate active dialogue. Clough acknowledges the criticism he has received, offering his continued efforts in bettering the Smithsonian's communication so that the institution can address the challenging conversations it faces as a public institution.¹⁷² Though Clough offers the Smithsonian's upcoming symposium, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines," as a space for further discussion of the controversy, this is the only format for public discourse on the topic facilitated by the Smithsonian. Despite how the community response reflects the need to discuss the actions of the Secretary, the role of free

¹⁶⁸ Wayne Clough, "Statement: Wayne Clough, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution 'Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture' exhibition," *Smithsonian Institution*, January 20, 2011.

<https://www.si.edu/es/newsdesk/releases/statement-wayne-clough-secretary-smithsonian-institution>

¹⁶⁹ Clough, "Statement: Wayne Clough."

¹⁷⁰ Clough, "Statement: Wayne Clough."

¹⁷¹ Clough, "Statement: Wayne Clough."

¹⁷² Clough, "Statement: Wayne Clough."

speech in the museum, and the intersection of public education and politics, the Smithsonian neglects to provide programming that facilitates this.

On the morning of Clough's first public address, protestors arrived with a "funeral procession for freedom of expression" outside of Millennium Biltmore Hotel prior to Clough's first public statements regarding the controversy.¹⁷³ Protestors were reacting to both the Smithsonian censorship as well as a local act of censorship by the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles that resulted in the removal of a mural by the street artist Blu; protestors echoed the imagery that sparked the censorship of the work, a dollar bill draped casket.¹⁷⁴ Members of the protest attended the Secretary's talk "New Perspectives at the Smithsonian.," where Clough echoed his steadfast belief that he made the right decision in removing the work.¹⁷⁵

In response to Secretary Clough's first public statements about the controversy, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden's board of trustees released a statement expressing its discontent with the decision made by Secretary Clough.¹⁷⁶ The excerpt, highlighted in an article found at the Smithsonian Archive, takes a strong stance against the Secretary's censorship of the work. The board of trustees frames the censorship in a broader sense, stating that Clough's restriction of the content represented at any of the Smithsonian museums is counter "not only to

¹⁷³ Mike Boehm, "Protest over art censorship will greet Smithsonian chief before L.A. talk Thursday," *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_026]

¹⁷⁴ Mike Boehm and Rick Rojas, "Group protests art censorship at Smithsonian secretary's speech in L.A.," *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 2011. <https://latimesblogs.latimes.com/culturemonster/2011/01/protests-smithsonian-secretary-speech-censorship.html>

¹⁷⁵ Tyler Green, "Smithsonian's Clough sets press availability," *ArtInfo*, January 7, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_010]

¹⁷⁶ Tyler Green, "Hirshhorn board 'deeply troubled' by Smithsonian censorship," *ArtInfo*, January 27, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_042]

the founding American principle of freedom of thought and expression, but also to the spirit of inquiry at the core of the Smithsonian's mission."¹⁷⁷

On March 23, 2011, the Corcoran Gallery of Art held their symposium, "Culture Wars: Then and Now," to discuss the history of censorship in the art world and the threatened cuts to National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funding by congressional leaders.¹⁷⁸ The symposium included a number of "'90s culture-war veterans" including Dennis Barrie, who faced charges of obscenity as the director of the Cincinnati Contemporary Art Center for exhibiting *The Perfect Moment*; and Jane Livingston who left the Corcoran following the Mapplethorpe controversy in 1989.¹⁷⁹ The iPad protesters, Michael Blastenstien and Michael Iacovone, as well as Orameh Bagheri from L.A. Raw, who was a part of the Los Angeles demonstrations against Secretary Clough, also were in attendance.

Bill Dobbs, from the activist group Art+, spoke about the Wojnarowicz censorship, noting the lack of organized activism and the need for focused activist groups to "defend free-expression." These sentiments were echoed by the key-note speaker, Robert Storr, who declared "the culture wars are back." The Smithsonian's censorship was independent of threats to the NEA but it showed that there was little forward motion in Washington following the '90s Culture Wars. The use of federal funding as a threat to the Smithsonian and as a method for controlling the representation of others and muting diverse voices, showed that the conservative

¹⁷⁷ Green, "Hirshhorn board 'deeply troubled.'" [14-069_NPG_HS1_042]

¹⁷⁸ "Corcoran to hold summit on 'culture wars' over art," *Associated Press*, March 25, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_054]

¹⁷⁹ Ben Davis, "The Culture Wars Are Back": A Summit at the Corcoran Draws Lessons From the Smithsonian's Wojnarowicz Censorship Scandal," *ArtInfo.com*, March 28, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_057]

members of Congress failed to learn from the Culture Wars, but knew that the threat would be concerning enough to warrant some action by the Smithsonian to quell the issue.

Another subtle aspect of the controversy, noted quite often throughout the press clippings related to the show, was the nature of the four-minute clip of *A Fire in My Belly*. There are two iterations of the original film by Wojnarowicz, a 21-minute edit and a 13-minute edit. Though the original 13-minute edit of the film does contain the same clip of ants crawling on a crucifix, the four-minute edit of the film created by Katz was criticized for its inauthenticity as a work. Katz had obtained permission from PPOW gallery, which cares for the estate of the artist, and from Wojnarowicz' last partner, Tom Rauffenbart.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Jonathan Katz, Interview with author, March 18, 2019, transcript in authors possession.

Smithsonian Symposium: Community Engagement and Programming

The Smithsonian's own public symposium on the controversy, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines: Museum Curation and Controversy," was scheduled for April 26 and 27; a whole two months after the close of the exhibition and five months after the initial controversy about *A Fire in My Belly* began. Initial speculation by Christopher Knight about a working document leaked to *The Washington Post* which included a list of potential panelists selected for the symposium was disparaging.¹⁸¹ The Smithsonian faced intense criticism even while attempting to address the controversy. The museum tentatively released a list of panelists for the symposium in early April, though this list only featured members of the Smithsonian staff such as Secretary Clough, Undersecretary of Art, History and Culture, Richard Kurin; and the Director of the Freer and Sackler galleries, Julian Raby.¹⁸²

On April 26, Julian Raby, made the opening remarks for the first day of the Smithsonian's symposium. Following Raby's remarks, Secretary Clough addressed those in attendance, welcoming them to the forum. Richard Kurin introduced the rest of the symposium including the first panel of the day, "Curation: Responsibilities, Constraints, and Controversy," moderated by Claudine Brown, the assistant Secretary for Education and Access for the Smithsonian.¹⁸³ Members of the panel included Kimberly Camp, CEO of Richland Public Facilities District, Hanford Reach Interpretive Center, and Founding Director of the Smithsonian Experimental Gallery; Briana L. Pobiner, Science Outreach and Education Program Specialist,

¹⁸¹ Christopher Knight, "Critic's Notebook: Smithsonian air-clearing forum looks to be anything but," *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_053]

¹⁸² Lee Rosenbaum, "Panelist 'Hide/Seek': Smithsonian Tags In-House Participants (only) for Two-Day Conference," *Arts Journal*, April 14, 2010. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_059]

¹⁸³ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

Human Origins Program at the National Museum of Natural History; and historian at the National Portrait Gallery and co-curator of *Hide/Seek*, David C. Ward.¹⁸⁴ Dr. Katz noted that many of the topics of the symposium, including this one, were framed by other controversial issues such as race relations, evolution versus religion, and other controversies faced by the various Smithsonian museums and their sister institutions.¹⁸⁵

The second panel of the evening was “Representing Sensitive Topics: Gender and Sexuality” which focused on issues of curatorial responsibility specifically in regard to representations of gender and sexuality in museums.¹⁸⁶ This panel more directly addressed the controversy surrounding *Hide/Seek* but included panelists from other institutions to discuss the historical context of the censorship. The moderator for the panel was Kinshasha Holman Conwill, the Director of African American History and Culture. Panelists included Charles Francis, Founder of the Kameny Papers Project; Thom Collins, Director of the Miami Art Museum; Johnathan Katz, co-Curator for *Hide/Seek* and Chair of the Visual Studies program at SUNY Buffalo; and Karen Milbourne, Curator at the National Museum of African Art.¹⁸⁷

The panelists’ chosen for this topic had varying authorities on the topic of representation in the museum space. Charles Francis’ involvement with the Kameny Papers Project meant that he had a significant understanding of the scope of gay-rights and gay liberation that reinforced his authority in discussing important topics for inclusion when representing LGBTQ identities.¹⁸⁸ Though I cannot find a direct source stating his involvement with the Contemporary Arts Center in the 1990s, I believe Thom Collins was selected for his experience with controversy in

¹⁸⁴ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

¹⁸⁵ Jonathan Katz, Interview.

¹⁸⁶ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

¹⁸⁷ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

¹⁸⁸ Gail Fineberg, “Activist and Archivist: Library Acquires Papers of Gay-Rights Pioneer,” *Library of Congress*, November 2006. <https://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0611/kameny.html>

Cincinnati over the same Robert Mapplethorpe retrospective that was censored by the Corcoran.¹⁸⁹ Of course Katz was well-versed in the *Hide/Seek* controversy, and noted that he felt little inhibition speaking his mind about his disapproval of the Smithsonian's actions.¹⁹⁰ The final panelist, Karen Milbourne, focused on the Yinka Shonibare retrospective, which included a number of suggestive forms.¹⁹¹ Milbourne emphasized the museum's role in providing a space for the unknown and the unexpected.¹⁹² In my interview with Dr. Katz, he noted that this panel was effective in addressing the intended topic though a criticism of the panel, by journalist Ben Davis, was that each of the panelists simply reiterated the difficulty of navigating the controversial subject matter.¹⁹³

The start of the second day of "Flashpoints and Fault Lines" began with the Welcome and Introduction given by Johnnetta Cole, the Director of the National Museum of African Art. The first panel of the day was "Curation: Listening to Artists, Scientists, Public Figures, Cultural Communities," which discussed the role of the curator vis-à-vis the artist, the presentation of work, and presenting scientific findings.¹⁹⁴ It also questioned to what extent public figures have a say in how topics are presented and how we listen to cultural communities and account for their sensibilities and sensitivities.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ Isabel Wilkerson, "Trouble Right Here in Cincinnati: Furor Over Mapplethorpe Exhibit," *The New York Times*, March 29, 1990. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/29/us/trouble-right-here-in-cincinnati-furor-over-mapplethorpe-exhibit.html>; "Curators display their passions at Smithsonian panel on the 'Hide/Seek' aftermath," *The Washington Post*, March 26, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_066]

¹⁹⁰ Jonathan Katz, Interview with author, March 18, 2019, transcript in authors possession.

¹⁹¹ "Curators display their passions," *The Washington Post*. [14-069_NPG_HS1_066]

¹⁹² "Curators display their passions," *The Washington Post*. [14-069_NPG_HS1_066]

¹⁹³ Katz, Interview.; Ben Davis, "Clough Stands for Censorship!": Impromptu Protest Enlivens Rote Smithsonian Forum on Scandal," *ArtInfo*, April 27, 2011. Box 2, Folder 4. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS2_02]

¹⁹⁴ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

¹⁹⁵ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

This panel was moderated by Johnnetta Cole, and included Kerry Brougher, the Deputy Director and Chief Curator of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Tim Johnson, the Associate Director for museum programs at the National Museum of the American Indian, and Cristiàn Samper, the director of the National Museum of Natural History as panelists.¹⁹⁶ This panel also included Blake Gopnik, the Art and Design Critic for *Newsweek* and its website, *The Daily Beast*.¹⁹⁷ As a commentator for the panel, Gopnik pointed out the media's role in sparking the initial controversy surrounding the exhibition.¹⁹⁸ This is all I have been able to find regarding the content of this panel discussion due to the restricted status of the collections that contain further documentation of the symposium.

The following panel, "Exhibitions in National Museums and Public Institutions," addressed the special characteristics of national and public museums with regards to sensitive topic/treatments and controversial issues.¹⁹⁹ This panel focused on the question of how politics affect curation, what accountability curators, museum directors, and boards have and to whom, and whether there should be special treatment given to more sensitive or controversial topics.²⁰⁰ It was moderated by Ellen McColloch-Lovell, the President of Marlboro College and former Executive Director of the President's Committee on Arts and Humanities.²⁰¹ The panelists included Frank Hodsoll, the Principal of Hodsoll and Associates and former Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts; Bill Ivey, the director of the Curb Center at Vanderbilt University and former Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts; and Ford Bell, the

¹⁹⁶ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

¹⁹⁷ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

¹⁹⁸ Lee Rosenbaum, "Surprising Revelation at 'Hide/Seek' Conference: Smithsonian's Conservative Congressional Hero," *ArtsJournal*, (April 28, 2011): 7. Box 1, Folder 38. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS2_06]

¹⁹⁹ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

²⁰⁰ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

²⁰¹ Smithsonian Institution, "Flashpoints and Fault Lines."

President of the American Association of Museums.²⁰² There is little documentation of this panel, though it is interesting to note that the presence of two former chairmen of the NEA might have prompted the discussion of the role of federal funding in developing exhibitions for public institutions.

The final panel of the symposium was “Museum Stakeholders and Curation.” This panel intended to focus on “what stakes and roles do funders, boards, critics, museum audiences and other constituents have in curation?” and “how specific are those roles with regard to influencing, approving, supporting exhibitions?”²⁰³ Elizabeth Duggal, the Associate Director for External Affairs and Public Programs for the National Museum of Natural History, moderated panelists Ann Hamilton, artist and member of the Board of Trustees for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden; Henry Muñoz, chair of the National Museum of the American Latino Commission; and Jed Perl, an art critic for *The New Republic*. The Director and President of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and President of the Association of Art Museum Directors, Kaywin Feldman, was a commentator for the panel. Feldman was noted as “lambast[ing]” the Smithsonian for “allowing itself to be ‘used for someone else’s creepy agenda,” going on to state that, “What happened wasn’t about this exhibition. It was about complete homophobia, and we’ve got to stop putting up with that!”²⁰⁴

The “Concluding Thoughts” for the symposium were given by Lonnie Bunch, the Director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture and Martin Sullivan, the director of the National Portrait Gallery.²⁰⁵ Again little is documented about these closing statements but they were followed by the “Thanks and Going Forward” by Richard Kurin. Lee

²⁰² Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

²⁰³ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

²⁰⁴ Rosenbaum, “Surprising Revelation,” 7. [14-069_NPG_HS2_06]

²⁰⁵ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

Rosebaum noted in her summary of the symposium that Kurin emphasized the need to break away from a kind of “us and them” mentality, noting that one of the most conservative congressmen he’s met defended the Smithsonian, despite his disagreement with the imagery and purpose of *Hide/Seek*.²⁰⁶

A criticism made by Michael Blastenstien following the first day of the symposium notes that Clough is not an active member of any of the panels, despite the fact that he was the one who made the choice to censor *A Fire in My Belly*.²⁰⁷ Conversely, the selection of veteran members of the Smithsonian may have been to avoid misrepresenting the values of the institution. Though the symposium was criticized overall for not directly addressing the sources and causes of the controversy, there is further documentation of the symposium which is restricted until January of 2030 that may provide a more complete reconstruction of the panel discussions.²⁰⁸

Though the Smithsonian’s symposium seems to have addressed many of the key topics and ideas related to *Hide/Seek* and the controversy surrounding the exhibition it was criticized for its inclusion of other topics that detracted from the true nature of the controversy. The selection of panelists seems to have been relatively diverse but failed to draw on members from the community to discuss some of the key topics featured in the symposium. Due to the restriction of further documentation of the symposium there is little analysis that can be made based on the panelists and topics included in *Flashpoints and Fault Lines*.

²⁰⁶ Smithsonian Institution, “Flashpoints and Fault Lines.”

²⁰⁷ “Artist attempts to hang ‘Censor’ sign on Smithsonian secretary’s neck,” *TBD Arts*, April 27, 2011. Box 2, Folder 3. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS1_065]

²⁰⁸ Katz, Interview.

National Portrait Gallery Programming

The first of the programs held at the National Portrait Gallery for *Hide/Seek* was the lecture, “Gay Art before Gay Liberation: George Bellows, Georgia O’Keeffe, and Jasper Johns,” by Jonathan Katz.²⁰⁹ This lecture took place October 30, on the opening day of the exhibition, notably before the controversy erupted. Dr. Jonathan Katz noted that this lecture was overall scholarly, as the audience seemed interested in the academic aspects of the show.²¹⁰ The scholarly importance of *Hide/Seek* was at the forefront of this program, suggesting that prior to the media response to *A Fire in My Belly* there was little or no outrage over the works included in the show. The lack of negative responses to the show for the first month of the exhibition, which included when Dr. Katz’s lecture took place, implies the controversy was prompted mostly by the conservative press.

One of the following programs, held on November 7, was “Gallery 360 with Jack Pierson,” where Pierson discussed his works on view, *Self-Portrait #3* and *Self Portrait #28*. As discussed earlier in the Curatorial Methods of Selection section, Pierson addresses concepts of representation in relation to homosexual stereotypes and in understanding his own sexuality and gender expression. Through questioning visitors about the formal and conceptual components identified in his images, Pierson could deconstruct societally developed conceptions of gay sexuality and gender representation. His work provides a deconstruction of the gender binary that has the potential to engage a multiplicity of identities and communities.

The museum must facilitate these conversations for two reasons: they have the capability to moderate disparate voices and they act a community space for enrichment granting authority

²⁰⁹ “Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture’ Public programs related to the exhibition.” Box 4, Folder 3. National Portrait Gallery, Office of Public Affairs Publicity Records, 1990-2012. Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²¹⁰ Katz, Interview.

by presenting topics for consideration. By drawing upon a specialist, a member of the community such as Pierson, to facilitate a discussion about gender expression and representation, the museum is able to educate visitors about the culturally informed nature of gender and sexuality. This concept is key to the overall theme of *Hide/Seek*, as the shifting dynamics of sexuality and gender expression from pre-war to post-war, modern becomes post-modern and the concepts which made up these eras were brought into question.

A program initially scheduled to run during *Hide/Seek* was “Reel Portraits,” an “illustrated talk” by film historian and director of the New York Underground Film Festival, Ed Halter.²¹¹ Halter is an experimental film critic and historian who has curated and organized film programs in New York City.²¹² As a young college graduate, Halter worked for Frameline, an organization that coordinates the San Francisco Lesbian & Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Film Festival, it was through this experience that he would gain a knowledge of New Queer Cinema.²¹³ The talk was intended to discuss queer underground portrait cinema, most likely including the imagery used in the Wojnarowicz film featured in the exhibition. This program would have been extremely effective for elucidating the symbolism used in *A Fire in My Belly*. Interestingly, the program was initially scheduled for November 13, just seven days before the controversy about the film erupted, but is marked as postponed.²¹⁴ I am unsure whether the program was ever run but it would have helped in combatting misconceptions about the imagery used in the film and the intent of the artist.

²¹¹ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²¹² “Bio: Ed Halter,” Ed Halter Dot Com, accessed April 18, 2019. <http://www.edhalter.com/info/bio/>

²¹³ Thomas Beard, “Life in Film: Thomas Beard & Ed Halter,” *Frieze*, September 1, 2010. <https://frieze.com/article/life-film-thomas-beard-ed-halter>

²¹⁴ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

The National Portrait Gallery also facilitated a series of programs titled “Facing History-Be the Artist Youth and Family Program,” which ran once a month over the duration of the exhibition.²¹⁵ The program included a two hour guided tour focused on a specific artist’s work followed by a children’s story about the artist, after which visitor created a piece of art using the same materials or concepts as the artist discussed. The class was offered for children five and up with parents; a similar program, “Young Portrait Explorers,” was also offered for toddlers up to five with a hands-on activity instead of creating a work.²¹⁶

The artists’ discussed in the various programs were Marsden Hartley, Andy Warhol, Joseph Cornell, and Georgie O’Keeffe.²¹⁷ Three of the four selected artists are from the Abstraction section of the show, though Cornell’s work is not directly featured but rather Cornell is photographed with one of his sculptures by Lee Miller.²¹⁸ It should also be noted that two of the four artists are also not homosexual but rather were selected for their representation of either their own sexuality, such as O’Keeffe, or in the case of Cornell, for his unique use of shadow boxes, found objects, and disparate images in representing his subjects.²¹⁹ Cornell was most likely selected for the techniques he employed rather than the subject of his works. Though he used more coded methods of representing his subjects in his assemblages, there was no direct relation to the theme of LGBTQ representation in Millers’ image of the artist. The importance of the image featured in the exhibition is in the layers of meaning developed through the use of the

²¹⁵ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²¹⁶ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²¹⁷ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²¹⁸ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 134 – 135.

²¹⁹ “Joseph Cornell,” Smithsonian American Art Museum, accessed March 31, 2019. <https://americanart.si.edu/artist/joseph-cornell-995>; Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 134 – 135.

sailboat to “feminize Cornell’s features” and reference the juxtaposed imagery used in Cornell’s own shadowboxes.²²⁰

As noted earlier in the Curatorial Methods section, Hartley’s representations of gay men consist of abstracted geometric pictorial compositions. The two works included in the show use heavily charged symbols and numerical representations of key numbers to signify important people in the artist’s life. Hartley’s portraits provide a rich source for inviting visitors to engage with artistic methods for representing oneself, others, and one’s relationships. The final artist included in these two programs was Andy Warhol. Warhol was included both as a subject and an artist in *Hide/Seek*; in Christopher Makos’, *Altered Image: Warhol in Drag*, 1981; his early shoe drawing *Truman Capote’s Shoe*, 1957; and his 1968 self-portrait, *Camouflage Self-Portrait*. These depictions of Warhol display gender expression, coded representation, and self-portraiture, providing a number of potential conversations regarding symbolism and gender expression for this program to explore.

The National Portrait Gallery also held a scholarly symposium, “Addressing (and Redressing) the Silence: New Scholarship in Sexuality and American Art,” on January 29, 2011.²²¹ This symposium gathered American art historians to present their work relating to sexuality in American art. There were four general symposium categories, “Archives and Discovery,” “Racing Desires,” “Desire at Mid-century,” and “Desire and the Public.”²²² This program seemed to address a number of the themes found in *Hide/Seek* while deconstructing and unearthing queer desire in American visual culture and art history and the extensive timeline of

²²⁰ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 134 – 135.

²²¹ “National Portrait Gallery Presents the Symposium ‘Addressing (and Redressing) the Silence: New Scholarship in Sexuality and American Art’,” Smithsonian Institution, accessed April 18, 2019. <https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/releases/national-portrait-gallery-presents-symposium-addressing-and-redressing-silence-new-scholars>

²²² Smithsonian Institution, “‘Addressing (and Redressing) the Silence’.”

LGBTQ representation. The question and answer portion following the conclusion of the conference provided an opportunity for discourse. A question posed about the panelists response to the censorship was met with the acknowledgment of the impact of the censorship within the art and activist communities and the larger effects of these responses on the dialogue surrounding the work.

There were a variety of other programs presented for the public by the museum such as “A Look at Portraiture and Identity,” a teacher workshop; “Portrait Story Days” which featured Warhol themed activities; and “Meet the Author with Patti Smith,” a discussion of her book, *Just Kids*.²²³ The National Portrait Gallery also held “Hide/Seek Family and Friends Day” which featured music, hands-on activities inspired by the exhibition, and guided tours throughout the day for visitors.²²⁴ These programs address a variety of the museums visitor populations, such as children, families, and adults of all ages, providing them with engaging activities to supplement the content of the exhibition. The general programming addresses themes of gender expression and sexuality from the show through the use of physical activities, lectures, and workshops, providing different learning styles with a variety of options for further engagement with the content and themes of *Hide/Seek*. The description provides little documentation of the activities offered for family and friends day, which limits the evaluation of its effectiveness.

A notable difference in the programming for the National Portrait Gallery in comparison to the Brooklyn Museum is degree of focus on the topic of AIDS. The programming that I have been able to identify focuses mostly on gender expression, representation, and sexuality. Though the inclusion of the program “Meet the Author Patti Smith,” may have addressed the epidemic it is unclear how much of the discussion surrounding her book, “Just Kids,” would have touched

²²³ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

²²⁴ “Hide/Seek Public programs.” [14-301_Presskit_NPG_02]

on the devastating impact of AIDS on the gay community. Smith had been a friend of Robert Mapplethorpe's since the late 1960s, when she was a young-adult in New York City.²²⁵ Despite the focus on Smith's close relationship with famous artist, her narrative ends just as she reaches fame, well before Mapplethorpe's illness and death. This would suggest that the discussion would not have explored the depths of the impact of the disease on the gay community, though there is little documentation of the program that could suggest otherwise.

²²⁵ Janet Maslin, "Bohemian Soul Mates in Obscurity," *The New York Times*, January 17, 2010.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/18/books/18book.html>

The Brooklyn Museum

Previously, when Katz and Ward reached out to other institutions to determine interest in displaying *Hide/Seek*, they found no other museum willing to present the exhibition. Following the November controversy, the Brooklyn Museum and the Tacoma Arts Museum reached out to the Smithsonian requesting for the show to travel to their institutions.²²⁶ In their presentation in 2011 of *Hide/Seek*, the Brooklyn Museum reinstated Wojnarowicz' controversial film, *A Fire in My Belly*, to the dismay of many. The Brooklyn Museum faced similar controversy during their exhibition of the show, yet they opted to maintain the integrity of *Hide/Seek* by not bending to political pressure and funding threats. I chose to evaluate the Brooklyn Museum's exhibition of *Hide/Seek* because I located a list of programming for the show in the Smithsonian Archive. This provided me with the material necessary to evaluate their programming in comparison to the National Portrait Gallery's.

When the Brooklyn Museum announced that they were hosting the controversial exhibition they received push back from members of the local community, including the bishop of Brooklyn, Nicholas A. DiMarzio, who called for the museum to pull Wojnarowicz' film from *Hide/Seek* yet again.²²⁷ Republican senator Andrew Lanza introduced legislation to "withdraw 'all public funding'" from the museum.²²⁸ The museum held its ground, exhibiting the controversial show in spite of backlash, opening the show on November 18. On November 20, just two days after the show opened, there were about three dozen protestors singing hymns and

²²⁶ Though *Hide/Seek* travelled to both the Brooklyn Museum and the Tacoma Arts Museum, I will be evaluating the methods of programming utilized in the Brooklyn Museum's exhibition of the show.

²²⁷ Patricia Cohen, "Bishop Asks That Video Be Cut From Brooklyn Museum Show," *New York Times*, November 14, 2011. Box 2, Folder 4. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS2_020]

²²⁸ Diamond, "Threaten to Pull Funding." [14-069_NPG_HS2_022]

praying in opposition to *A Fire in My Belly*. The Brooklyn Museum had experience with political controversy targeting their exhibitions.

The museum was uniquely prepared to handle the criticism it faced for exhibiting *Hide/Seek* because of a previous controversy it had encountered in 1999, when it exhibited *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*.²²⁹ The show received backlash for its inclusion of *Myra*, a Marcus Harvey portrait of Myra Hindley, and Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary*, a "black Madonna that used elephant dung to represent an exposed breast." The resulting controversy centered mostly on the "sacrilegious" representation of the Virgin Mary. Despite receiving a warning about the show two months prior to its opening and not objecting to its exhibition in Brooklyn, the mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani, criticized the museum for using its public funding to pay for "sick stuff."²³⁰

Giuliani claimed that the full scope of the exhibition was not made clear to him and proposed the withdrawal of \$7 million of the museum's \$23 million budget of public funding from the city, similar to the threats the Brooklyn Museum received over a decade later in response to *Hide/Seek*.²³¹ The museum was also threatened by the city's corporate counsel, Michael D. Hess, who claimed that the museum was "violating the terms of its lease and that the government could ... replace the board of trustees with people who 'have better judgement as to what is appropriate for this type of museum.'" The legal battle which ensued brought to light the questions of whether the public funding of an institution could be threatened because of the "offensive" nature of the work on display. The verdict notes that though there is nothing

²²⁹ Isaac Kaplan, "Censorship, 'Sick Stuff,' and Rudy Giuliani's Fight to Shut Down the Brooklyn Museum," Artsy, December 23, 2016. <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-censorship-sick-stuff-rudy-giuliani-fight-shut-down-brooklyn-museum>

²³⁰ Kaplan, "Censorship, 'Sick Stuff.'"

²³¹ Kaplan, "Censorship, 'Sick Stuff.'"

compelling the government to fund art, the state cannot withdraw funding on the basis of the content of the works displayed; though the “obscenity laws [had] been found constitutional.”²³²

Rallies in support of the museum and counter rallies by conservative groups, specifically the Catholic League and its president, Bill Donohue, showed the distribution of support and opposition toward museum and the show.²³³ The Brooklyn Museum’s knowledge of this previous controversy provided them with unique insight that allowed them to not give in to the political controversy and offer programs which actively and passively worked to develop visitors’ understanding of the themes addressed in the exhibition itself. This along with the other sources of funding that supported the museums’ exhibition of *Hide/Seek* ensured that threats of defunding and negative publicity failed to effect the integrity exhibition.²³⁴ Despite the negative public response and the threat of defunding the museum held its ground, as it would during the controversy about *Hide/Seek*. These themes would include representation and sexuality as well as the impact of the World Wars, Gay Liberation, and the AIDS epidemic.

A significant difference between these two exhibitions is the nature of the museums’ communities. Though the Brooklyn Museum serves a much smaller community than the National Portrait Gallery, based on metrics compiled by the United States Census, their direct population is not significantly more diverse than that of Washington, D.C. The census data for 2010 shows that the New York borough is 44% White, 5.5% more than D.C., and only 25.55%

²³² Kaplan, “Censorship, ‘Sick Stuff.’”

²³³ Kaplan, “Censorship, ‘Sick Stuff.’”

²³⁴ Funding for Brooklyn exhibition of *Hide/Seek* was contributed by the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Barbara and Richard Moore, The Calamus Foundation, the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, the May and Samuel Rudin Family Foundation, Inc., Donald A. Capoccia and Tommie Pegues, the Steven A. and Alexandra M. Cohen Foundation, Inc., Leslie and David Puth, Allison Grover and Susie Scher, the David Schwartz Foundation, Mario J. Palumbo, Jr., Tom Healy and Fred Hochberg, Hermes Mallea and Carey Maloney, and other generous donors. The educational programs for the exhibition were supported by the Keith Haring Foundation.; “*Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*,” Brooklyn Museum, accessed April 14, 2019. https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/hide_seek

Black or African American, 25.15% less than D.C.²³⁵ These metrics, though not specific to the museums, would suggest that the population diversity of both locations is relatively similar. A potentially significant distinction is the higher percentage of “foreign born persons, 2013-2017” in Brooklyn; but importantly this does not take in to account the foreign visitors to both cities which would affect the diversity of the population served by either museum.

Despite the lack of any significant demographical difference between the communities served by the individual institutions, the Brooklyn community was one of the most outspoken during the initial controversy in the winter of 2010. This interest in the show and intense support of the exhibition should not be dismissed when examining the role of the museum in developing programming for its community. Dr. Katz explains that when the show moved to Brooklyn they knew the controversy would follow, but because of the liberal lean and diversity of the museums community they felt confident refocusing the debate on the role of AIDS in LGBTQ history, concepts of sexuality and gender representation, and the history of LGBTQ community in New York City.²³⁶

The Brooklyn Museum hosted a plethora of programming for their showing of *Hide/Seek* including multiple film screenings, a workshop, panel discussion, artist talk, curator talk, and more. Importantly, the Brooklyn Museum was able to develop programming for *Hide/Seek* because it knew what had happened at the National Portrait Gallery and the museum had a full year, with that knowledge, to develop programming that would effectively support the exhibition.

²³⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, “Table 10. Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin: 2010- Con.” *Summary Population and Housing Characteristics*, CPH-1-1. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2013), 184 & 204. Accessed April 14, 2019. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/2012/dec/cph-1-1.pdf>

²³⁶ Katz, Interview.

Brooklyn Museum Programming

The first program for *Hide/Seek* listed by *Broadway Worlds* at the Brooklyn Museum was a three-hour workshop, titled “Gender Expression and Variation,” though I was unable to find this event on the museum’s event calendar.²³⁷ This program was targeted at the museum’s adolescent visitors, teenagers who visited the exhibition to discuss the “role of art in exploring gender identity.”²³⁸ Afterwards, they were guided by professional “teaching artist(s)” to create their own works about identity.²³⁹ In this case, the museum facilitated development of the visitors’ interpretation of the concepts presented in the exhibition, guiding their interactions with the work through the lens of gender expression and identity. Though this is the focus of the show, providing an intentional dialogue with others allows visitors to hear different perspectives helps to expand visitors’ understanding of sexual identity and gender expression.

On the same day, the museum hosted a lecture with Larry Kramer and Jonathan Katz that focused on the impact of the AIDS epidemic and how the issues facing the gay community are still relevant to the modern community.²⁴⁰ Kramer discussed his play *The Normal Heart* as a response to the AIDS crisis in the 1980s as well as his role in the LGBTQ activist group ACT UP.²⁴¹ This program facilitated an opportunity for visitors to interact with a member of the community who was vital in the development of activist groups, starting Gay Men’s Health Crisis in 1981 and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) in 1987.²⁴² These groups led

²³⁷ “BK Museum’s HIDE/SEEK To Be Accompanied by Public Programs,” *Broadway Worlds*, November 4, 2011, 17. Box 2, Folder 4. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2011. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²³⁸ “BK Museum’s HIDE/SEEK.” [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²³⁹ “BK Museum’s HIDE/SEEK.” [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²⁴⁰ “BK Museum’s HIDE/SEEK.” [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²⁴¹ “BK Museum’s HIDE/SEEK.” [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]; Katz, Interview.

²⁴² John Leland, “Twilight of a Difficult Man: Larry Kramer and the Birth of AIDS Activism,” *The New York Times*, May 19, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/19/nyregion/larry-kramer-and-the-birth-of-aids-activism.html>

the way in providing tips for safe sex, avoiding contracting the disease, and raising awareness of the impact of the epidemic.

The museum used Kramer's involvement to inform its visitors about a major topic of the exhibition by engaging with an authoritative member from the community who experienced the devastation and activist response to the AIDS crisis. The Brooklyn Museum understood the richness of its community, considering Kramer lived in Greenwich Village, and made use of a community member who was a major influence in the response to AIDS.²⁴³ This not only highlighted the importance of shared authority but provided a space for intercultural dialogue between community members facilitated by the museum.

The museum also held a World AIDS Day Film Screening of *Untitled*, "a nonlinear montage of archival and pop footage depicting the passionate activism sparked by the early years of the AIDS crisis and continuing through the last turbulent decades."²⁴⁴ The screening was in observance of the yearly Day Without Art, organized by Visual AIDS, an organization that "utilizes art to fight AIDS by provoking dialogue, supporting HIV positive artists, and preserving a legacy."²⁴⁵ The Day Without Art is an "international day of action and mourning in response to the AIDS crisis," commemorating and acknowledging the Lost Generation of artists', activists' and members of the LGBTQ community.²⁴⁶ The museum intentionally engaged with their role as a facilitator of a dialogue surrounding the importance of *Hide/Seek* in the conversation about AIDS both historically and as a contemporary issue.

²⁴³ Leland, "Twilight of a Difficult Man."

²⁴⁴ "World AIDS Day Film Screening: *Untitled*," Calendar, Brooklyn Museum, December 1, 2011. Accessed April 8, 2019. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/calendar/event/old-4838>

²⁴⁵ Ibid; "Homepage," Visual AIDS, accessed April 8, 2019. <https://visualaids.org/>

²⁴⁶ "Day Without Art," Visual AIDS, accessed April 8, 2019. <https://visualaids.org/projects/day-without-art>

On December 8, the museum held a screening of the 1971 film *Pink Narcissus*, followed by a discussion with the director, James Bidgood.²⁴⁷ *Pink Narcissus* follows the musings and fantasies of a gay male prostitute and his journey through sexual liberation, from simple historical orgies to “darker” sadomasochistic fantasies.²⁴⁸ Notably, when the film was first released, the directors’ name was not listed, as Bidgood instead opted for the title of anonymous.²⁴⁹ Bidgood felt the film was unfinished, yet *Pink Narcissus* became a cult classic within the LGBTQ community for its depiction of sexual liberation at the very beginning of the gay liberation movement.²⁵⁰

Though there is no physical documentation of James Bidgood’s discussion of the film, I can assert, based on a 2011 interview with Bidgood, the potential focus of this program. In the 1950s, Bidgood worked as a “female impersonator” and photographer for magazines like *Muscleboy* and *Adonis* in New York City.²⁵¹ He most likely would have drawn on his own experience as a gay man in the mid-20th century to address topics of post-war masculinity, early gay liberation, and the difficulties he faced in completing the film. This most likely would have included a discussion of the cultural conceptions and social constructs regarding gender representation and sexuality in the 1950s and 1960s and may have extended into a conversation about the later role of the AIDS epidemic in the unification of the LGBTQ community.

²⁴⁷ “BK Museum’s,” *Broadway Worlds*, 17-18. [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²⁴⁸ Gay Essential, “Gay Essential Films To Watch, *Pink Narcissus*,” accessed March 26, 2019. <https://gay-themed-films.com/watch-pink-narcissus/>

²⁴⁹ Marion Ottaviani, “Who is James Bidgood, the pope of queer culture?” *Numéro*, January 12. https://www.numero.com/en/photography/james-bidgood-queer-culture-pink-narcissus-movie-super-8-technicolor-kenneth-anger-pierre-et-gilles-david-lachapelle#_

²⁵⁰ Ottaviani, “Who is James Bidgood?”

²⁵¹ William van Meter, “A Gay Cult Classic Re-Emerges,” *The New York Times Magazine*, March 18, 2011. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/20/magazine/mag-20Bidgood-t.html>; The term “female impersonator” was the common descriptor for drag performers from the 1950s until well into the 1980s. This term is contemporarily seen as transphobic but is used here because of the authors use in the cited text.

The Brooklyn Museum was also intentional about engaging with their community in the familial space, offering programs that invited the whole family to come to the museum and discuss the topics of sexuality and gender expression in relation to the artists featured in *Hide/Seek*. Their program “Hide/Seek: Family-Artist Encounter” facilitated the interactive exploration of the symbolism found in the work of Joseph Cornell and Georgia O’Keeffe offering visitors the opportunity to create a piece of art using some of the same materials or concepts as the artist.²⁵² This is similar to another program run at the National Portrait Gallery, “Facing History,” but interestingly enough the Brooklyn Museum selected two artists better known for their unique methods of representation rather than their sexuality.

As noted with the similar program held at the National Portrait Gallery, “Facing History” and “Young Portrait Explorers,” Cornell’s work was not directly featured in the exhibition, despite the focus on the artists work in this program. Cornell was likely selected due to his sculptural method of representation and the opportunities it provided for the discussion of his medium, though Felix Gonzalez-Torres, who was also a sculptural artist, could have been selected instead. The discussion of Gonzalez-Torres’ work would have brought the discussion of the AIDS epidemic into the program, which would have further acknowledged the importance of the Lost Generation of artists. It is important to acknowledge that Gonzalez-Torres’ work includes sculpture and photographs; much of his sculptural work uses the idea of the readymade and invites the viewer to engage with the work, potentially complicating discussions of his representational methods and the intent behind his works.

The museum also facilitated a Panel Discussion: “Gender and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance” engaging with its exhibition of *Hide/Seek* and *Youth and Beauty: Art of the*

²⁵² “BK Museum’s,” *Broadway Worlds*, 19. [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

American Twenties. Panelists included curator Teresa Carbone, cultural historian Thomas H. Wirth, and art historian Dr. James Smalls who “explore the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance.”²⁵³ This program also included curator led tour of both exhibitions and a reading of the short story “Nugent” by artist Pamela Jackson.²⁵⁴ This program was tailored to New York community, highlighting the impact of the LGBTQ community on New York in the early 20th century. This program highlighted the legacy of LGBTQ identity in American culture, acknowledging a number of contributions made by members of the community such as Langston Hughes and Richard Bruce Nugent.²⁵⁵

The first Saturday in January the museum held its “Target First Saturday,” which featured the theme of “Out and Proud.”²⁵⁶ The evening focused on celebrating identity and the “diverse achievements of the LGBTQ community in art, music, film, and literature.”²⁵⁷ This event featured a number of performers and artists from the Brooklyn LGBTQ community, including drag performer Peppermint, award-winning Cuban-American pop-rock musician Ariel Aparicio, Award-winning Caribbean soul artist Nhoj, and Bronx native, artist Lyle Ashton Harris.²⁵⁸ This program is rich not only in its interactions with members of the community but also in its acknowledgement of the diversity of its members, highlighting the intersectional identities present in the LGBTQ community through its selection of performers and artists.

²⁵³ “Roundtable Discussion: ‘Gender and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance,’” Calendar, Brooklyn Museum, December 10, 2011. Accessed April 5, 2019. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/calendar/event/old-4785>

²⁵⁴ “Roundtable Discussion.”

²⁵⁵ “Roundtable Discussion.”

²⁵⁶ “January 7, 2012,” Calendar, Brooklyn Museum, January 7, 2012. Accessed April 16, 2019. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/calendar/view/2012/01/07>

²⁵⁷ “BK Museum’s,” *Broadway Worlds*, 19. [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

²⁵⁸ Brooklyn Museum, “January 7, 2012.”

The first event for the museums' First Saturday program featured Caribbean soul artist, Nhojj.²⁵⁹ Nhojj addresses concepts of love in his music, specifically in relation to his own sexuality, and is one of the growing number of publicly gay musicians.²⁶⁰ Musical performances continued throughout the evening, featuring Ariel Aparicio, a Cuban-American pop-rock musician, and folk rock singer-songwriter, Melissa Ferrick, performing songs from her album *Still Right Here*.²⁶¹ Also featured was DJ Tikka Masala, the DJ for "two of Brooklyn's hottest queer dance parties, *That's My Jam* and *Fresh Fridays*," and the experimental punk band *3 Teens Kill 4*, featuring the surviving members of David Wojnarowicz' former band.²⁶² These musical performances appealed to a variety of tastes while engaging with local musicians, facilitating visitors' connections with inspiring and influential members of the LGBTQ community. The inclusion of Wojnarowicz' former band also provided a link between the artists' work and his other methods of expression, which included poetry and writing as well.

A sing-along screening of *Rent* (2005) was hosted by Peppermint, long-time drag performer and one of the final four contestants on Season 9 of *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2017).²⁶³ The museum utilized a famous and influential local performer to connect with members of the Brooklyn community through a film adaptation of a musical about "East Village bohemians struggling with life, love, and art in the shadow of AIDS."²⁶⁴ This provided an engaging format for integrating the topic of AIDS in to a contemporary setting through the presence of a modern figure from the LGBTQ community. Connecting these experiences with the museum provides

²⁵⁹ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

²⁶⁰ "Celebrating the 5th Anniversary of Album 5," Nhojj, accessed April 16, 2019. <https://www.nhojj.com/>

²⁶¹ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

²⁶² Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

²⁶³ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

²⁶⁴ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

another layer of identification with and understanding of the content presented through *Hide/Seek*.

The night also included an artist talk with Bronx native Lyle Ashton Harris, who's triptych *Brotherhood, Crossroads, Etcetera* (center panel), (1994), was included in the Post-modern section of *Hide/Seek* (Appendix B, Fig. 19).²⁶⁵ Harris' image invokes ancient African cosmologies through its use of Marcus Garvey's UNIA (United Negro Improvement Association) flag, Judeo-Christian myths, oppressive experiences, and what were considered taboo desires.²⁶⁶ The work is rich with dualistic representation, highlighting issues of domestic abuse, violence in the Black community, and the "dangers that come from engaging in an 'illicit' love," referring to acts of violence against the LGBTQ community and the AIDS virus.²⁶⁷ Harris' image provokes a number of interesting dialogues about personal identity, abuse and interpersonal violence, and the societal implications of being Black and gay, both independently and intersectionally.

The museums' First Saturday event also included a curator talk with Jonathan Katz, an artist talk by Kymia Nawabi, season two winner of *Bravo's Work of Art: The Next Great Artist*; and a "Book Club" reading of Charles Rice-Gonzalez's, *Chulito*.²⁶⁸ The topic of this curator talk was not discussed with Dr. Katz in our interview as I was unaware of this aspect of the program when the interview was conducted. The artist talk with Kymia Nawabi most likely focused on

²⁶⁵ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."; "Lyle Ashton Harris," Collection Online, Guggenheim, accessed April 17, 2019. <https://www.guggenheim.org/artwork/artist/lyle-ashton-harris>; Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 264 – 265.

²⁶⁶ The three colors used in Garvey's flag, red, green and black, represent Pan-African ideologies. Red to symbolize the blood of those killed by the Atlantic slave trade, European colonization, and Black Liberation during the Civil Rights era. Green to represent the natural wealth of the African land and black for the African race and to represent the independent nation of Africa.; "History Red – Black & Green," The Official Website of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, accessed April 16, 2019. <https://www.theunia-acl.com/index.php/history-red-black-green>; Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 264 – 265.

²⁶⁷ Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 264 – 265.

²⁶⁸ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

her recent success, winning the second and final season of *Work of Art: The Next Great Artist*, and the methods of representation utilized in her own work. The night closed with Rice-Gonzalez's reading of *Chulito*, his novel about a "gay Hispanic teenager growing up in the Bronx."²⁶⁹ This program links the artists' novel to the topics of self-representation and gay identity in the show as well as to the community in Brooklyn.

The multitude of intersectional identities and cultures included in the "First Saturday" program not only facilitated a space for people to experience other cultures but provided a means of representation for members of the community often underserved in museums. The program was constructed to intentionally engage with members of the Black and Latinx communities in Brooklyn, along with providing other forms of representation through the variety of musical talents featured. The "First Saturday" program not only acted as a space for this representation but also displayed a number of artistic methods through which sexual identity and gender expression can be explored and articulated, expanding on the importance of art and music in self-representation.

One of the most important programs held at the Brooklyn Museum was its symposium, "Roundtable Discussion: Sexuality and the Museum," which explored the "complex roles, responsibilities, and triumphs that museums and cultural institutions have faced in representing sexuality and queerness in art."²⁷⁰ The discussion included Thom Collins, Director of the Miami Art Museum; Norman Kleeblatt, Chief Curator at the Jewish Museum; Risa Puleo, Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art at The Blanton Museum of Art at The University of Texas at Austin; artist, art writer, and independent curator Harmony Hammond; Jim Hodges, New-York

²⁶⁹ Brooklyn Museum, "January 7, 2012."

²⁷⁰ "BK Museum's," *Broadway Worlds*, 20. [14-069_NPG_HS2_016]

based installation artist; and artist Deborah Kass.²⁷¹ The artists, curators, and museum directors facilitated a dialogue about the role of museums in presenting sexuality in art, engaging with the aspects of representation related to *Hide/Seek*.²⁷²

This program also likely addressed the history of censorship, specifically of queerness, in museums and the future of museums when faced with issues of identity and censorship. The museum understood the need to deconstruct the controversy, both at the National Portrait Gallery and in Brooklyn, and provide a space for intercultural discourse. By engaging members of the community, not only in lectures and symposia but workshops and discussions with artists and activists, the museum is able to develop its connection and rapport with its visitors. Extending the reach of the themes of the exhibition through its programming to develop a sense of value, personal identification with and understanding of the content on exhibit.

²⁷¹ “Roundtable Discussion: ‘Sexuality and the Museum’,” Calendar, Brooklyn Museum, January 21, 2012. Accessed April 23, 2019. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/calendar/event/old-4941>

²⁷² Brooklyn Museum, “‘Sexuality and the Museum’.”

Conclusion

In 2010, the National Portrait Gallery presented *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, a landmark exhibition representing LGBTQ identity, sexuality, and gender expression. Despite its many successes, the exhibition is often overshadowed by the censorship of a four minute excerpt from David Wojnarowicz' 1986 film, *A Fire in My Belly* and the controversy that ensued. This research establishes through its reconstruction of the activism and community response to the censorship, that many in the art world felt the need to engage in a dialogue about the controversy surrounding the exhibition. The Smithsonian ultimately avoided many of the underlying issues of the censorship and controversy, yet the various symposia and the exhibitions of the work demonstrate the need for a larger community discourse.

From the initial claims of “anti-religious” imagery that many felt masked the actual anti-LGBTQ motivation behind the conservative outcry, to the Smithsonian’s subtle attempts to avoid discussing this aspect of the controversy, the exhibition was overshadowed by its misrepresentation.²⁷³ Despite offering programming and events for *Hide/Seek*, the National Portrait Gallery developed programs that focused heavily on the artistic methods of representation rather than the historical importance of the LGBTQ community and the role of society in the development of these coded methods of representation. The two potential opportunities for engaging with the controversy surrounding the censorship, “Reel Portraits” and the Smithsonian public symposium, were postponed and offered much too late to be effective in engaging with the initial community response.

²⁷³ “Smithsonian Rebuffs Artist AA Bronson.” [13-084_NPG_HS1_028]; Frank Rich, “Gay Bashing at the Smithsonian,” *The New York Times*, December 13, 2010. Box 1, Folder 37. Smithsonian Institution, Office of Public Affairs, Clippings, 2010. Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. Accessed December 2018. [13-084_NPG_HS1_040]

The Smithsonian's choice to avoid discussing the censorship meant that the narrative of the exhibition and surrounding controversy was lost to the media, along with public statements made by the curators and director made at the various symposia. Though the National Portrait Gallery produced programming that was effective in engaging a relatively diverse constituency, it failed to fully represent the Lost Generation of AIDS victims and avoided directly addressing the controversy surrounding the exhibition in the symposium "Flashpoints and Fault Lines." The Smithsonian's symposium was criticized for not addressing the *Hide/Seek* controversy effectively and was seen as convoluted. These efforts avoided discussing the true source of the censorship and the institutionally uncharacteristic reaction by the Smithsonian's Secretary.

The museum also neglected to offer further programming following the controversy that could have addressed the history of LGBTQ censorship, specifically in relation to the Culture Wars of the 1980s and 1990s. This is a major difference between the National Portrait Gallery's iteration of the exhibition and the Brooklyn Museum's. Brooklyn intentionally acknowledged the history of censorship in its own symposium while including programs that focused on the AIDS epidemic, which most likely would have discussed the influence of the Culture Wars on LGBTQ representation. The show's programming while at the Brooklyn Museum also focused more intentionally on the cultural influences behind the formation of coded forms of representation, unlike the National Portrait Gallery's focus on the artistic methods in a formal sense.

Though both institutions acknowledged the history that influenced the works selected for the exhibition, Brooklyn was arguably more intentional in its dialogue with its community, offering programs that addressed the various time periods represented in the exhibition, interpreting methods of coded representation, and highlighting contemporary members of the community and their lasting impact. These members of the community were diversely

representative, in terms of age, race, and sexual orientation and gender presentation. This level of inclusivity and intersectionality not only represents the museum's community. It also offers a space for community members to identify with the exhibition, and in turn the museum, while understanding the value of their nationality, gender identity, sexual orientation, or race. The Brooklyn Museum represented its diverse community and functioned as a communal space for engagement and discourse, by providing a wide-range of programming.

Though the National Portrait Gallery did engage with the content of *Hide/Seek* through its original programming it failed to anticipate the controversy, which left its community to facilitate its own dialogue surrounding the censorship. The Brooklyn Museum's response was based on prior knowledge of the controversy, it was also informed by earlier controversy surrounding *The Perfect Moment* and other Culture Wars exhibitions. The understanding of this history allowed Brooklyn to effectively engage with its community through intentional programming, providing a space to discuss important facets of the exhibition and its cultural implications. Contemporary museums must look to case studies like this to understand the importance of engaging their community in intersectional and discursive ways. The community will want to discuss the topics the museum presents as long as the content is engaging to visitors, includes their perspectives, and directly confronts uncomfortable or taboo topics, such as religion and sexuality, instead of attempting to avoid potential controversy.

Unless the museum acts as a space for discourse we will continue to see issues of human rights debated repeatedly, as socially constructed standards for gender expression and sexuality constrict the ever-growing understanding of human identity. Museums must utilize programming as a way to facilitate dialogue within the community while engaging with difficult topics. When the museum fails to embrace potential discourse it not only underserves its community but it

loses value within its community because of its attitude toward the potential discourse. When the museum does in fact engage with controversial or difficult topics it is able to not only gain personal value with the visitor but it also has the potential to invite visitors to broaden their cultural and social understanding of the world.

Using a range of sources obtained through archival research, this thesis has worked to reconstruct institutional programming at both the National Portrait Gallery and the Brooklyn Museum, in order to analyze the effectiveness of the response to controversy and community activism. In the future, additional interviews could be conducted with the panelists, facilitators, and visitors in order to further understand the impact of the programs offered. A suggestion for museums exhibiting controversial materials would be to provide visitor surveys for programming, including text surveys, exit surveys, transcription of panel discussions and other symposia, for further study. These documents help museums to determine the effectiveness of the programming offered and aid museums in more fully realizing their roles as spaces of dialogue that promote social understanding and positive change.

Appendix A

Smithsonian spreadsheet for 13-084

Folder	Title	Image number	Initial review	Penny Starr	Initial controversy	Curatorial response	Directorial response	Clough	Protests	Art world reaction	Notes
National Portrait Gallery 2010	NPG's 'Hide/Seek' reveals history, kills rhetoric	1	x								Hartley; Lieutenant Karl von Freyburg; Painting No. 47, Berlin (1914); German Officer Paintings; "Part of what separates Hartley's painting from Cope's is that societal structures forced Hartley into abstraction..."
	National Portrait Gallery's 'Hide/Seek' finds a frame for sexual identity	2	x								Salutat, Eakins
	What's Troubling About the Smithsonian's 'Hide/Seek' Show	3	x								Quotes from Ward; critical of one of Ward's statements
	Smithsonian explores impact of gays on art history	4	x								
	Hide/Seek at the National Portrait Gallery: A First Look	5	x								
	Portraits Shed Light Through Gay Prism	6	x								Quotes from Ward
National Portrait Gallery - Hide/Seek [folder 1]	David Wojnarowicz's "Fire in My Belly" Comes to L.A.	1			x					x	Notes the video was a re-edit; overshadowing of the exhibition; Warhol foundation
	When David Wojnarowicz pulled his own work from an exhibition	2								x	A.A. Bronson; "Allowing artists and lenders to remove a work from an exhibition grants them the power to commandeer an exhibition at the expense of a curator's integrity and scholarship."
	BlogBack: Bill Ivey, Former NEA Chairman, on the "Hide/Seek" Flap	3									1st paragraph is thoughtful; importance of compromise
	Smithsonian chief's next call should be to step down: Decision to remove video from 'Hide/Seek' contradict mission	4						x			Criticizes Smithsonian's values related to openness and engagement; AA Bronson controversy
	Should Smithsonian Secretary Clough Go?	5				x	x	x			Kennicott criticism of Clough; Clough's avoidance
	WaPo Kennicott's Bad Call on Clough's Call: Seeing "Hide/Seek" in Black/White	6						x			Resurgence of the Culture Wars
	Lee Rosenbaum: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell": A Useful Policy for the "Hide/Seek" Show at National Portrait Gallery	7				x					Dec 16th New York Public Library public program; "They should stop mouthing off recklessly..."
	Hide/Seek curator Jonathan Katz on gay art's newest threat: The left	8				x				x	Katz' perspective; A.A. Bronson; hypocrisy of removing AFIMB but rejecting Bronson's request to withdraw his work
	No Walk in the Park: Protest of Smithsonian Censorship	9								x	Protest march from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum; Jerry Saltz and 500 others; Sunday of 12/21
	Hide/Seek Co-Curator: Pulled Video "Was A Lucky Hit"	10				x	x				12/20 DCHCC hide/SPEAK; Clough's failure to speak about the controversy; siding with curators and director
	Silence=Unprofessional: The Wojnarowicz Panel	11				x					"Ward said that removing an important work represented a fine example of the themes that the shows critics don't want to discuss."; A.A. Bronson Felix controversy; lack of dialogue in cause of controversy/ Smithsonian was steamrolled
	A letter from Bronson demanding action	12								x	A.A. Bronson letter to Marc Meyer

National Portrait Gallery Rejects Artist's Request to Remove His Work	13								x	A.A. Bronson controversy
Arts Policy: A Report From the Front Lines of New York's Smithsonian Censorship Protest	14							x		Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
Recap: Hide/SPEAK, a discussion of censorship and the Smithsonian	15				x					Hide/SPEAK; quotes
The second Smithsonian/Wojnarowicz scandal	16						x			Clough email to staff; funding
"Hide/Seek" Flap: "Silence = Death" (but so does intemperate rhetoric)	17				x					Quotes from Katz
Mapplethorpe Foundation Withdraws Support for Smithsonian Exhibitions	18								x	Suspension of funding from Warhol and Mapplethorpe foundations
Canadian Museum Backs Smithsonian Protest	19								x	A.A. Bronson
Smithsonian censorship yield solidarity in Chicago	20			x				x	x	Smart Museum of Art screening AFIMB from January 4 to February 6
Editorial: The ICA begins a conversation	21								x	
Protestors at Met Rally for Artwork	22			x					x	
NYC 'cross' walk	23							x		
New Yorkers Protest Smithsonian Censorship	24							x		Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
A Provocative Artwork That Provoked	25									Letters to the editor about controversy
The Smithsonian's New Culture War	26			x						Wojnarowicz and David Cole; NEA controversy
Public screening abound for video art censored by Smithsonian	27								x	List of places screening AFIMB
Art Policy: Smithsonian Rebuffs Artist AA Bronson as Censored "Hide/Seek" Organizers Continue to Shrug	28								x	A.A. Bronson; NY Public Library panel (Dec 15th)
Jerry Saltz Answers Your Questions About Bad Art, Good Biographies, and the Smithsonian Controversy	29								x	
Artist wants photo removed from show: Action is in response to Portrait Gallery video controversy	30								x	A.A. Bronson
Video outcry flares anew: 'Hide/Seek' curators try to keep art on the agenda in discussion in New York	31				x					Donohue quote about controversy
Offensive? ICA lets the public decide	32				x				x	Full recap; Discussion of imagery in AFIMB
Here's what the Smithsonian should do now	33				x		x			Criticism of Clough; "You may of may not like that history, but it's a job of a museum to examine that history"; what Clough should do
Sen. Patrick Leahy and the Smithsonian regents	34			x						Commentary on commentary
Warhol Foundation threat was a missed opportunity	35								x	Warhol foundation funding suspension
Foundation Says It's Ending Smithsonian Support	36								x	Warhol foundation funding suspension; Dec 13 letter to Clough
Warhol Foundation Threatens to Cut Smithsonian Funding If Censored Video Is Not Reinstated	37								x	Warhol foundation funding suspension
Jon O'Brien: hide/seek exhibit	38						x			Catholics for Choice criticism of Clough
Could SFMOMA's engagement indicate a turning point?	39								x	SFMOMA; screening and public discussion on Jan 4
Gay Bashing at the Smithsonian	40			x						Criticism of censorship
The 'Fire' man	41			x						Wojnarowicz

	Smithsonian addresses staff fears, fallout over video controversy	42			x					Kurin response to faculty; quotes about AFIMB; quotes from Sullivan's email to NPG staff
	NPG Protesters Plan Temporary Gallery for Censored Work	43						x		iPad protests/Museum of Censored Art
	ArtsBeat: After Artwork Flap, A Question: What Are We Seeing?	44			x					Wojnarowicz NEA controversy
	Smithsonian Fallout Update: An Official Resigns, Stephen Colbert Weighs in, and Wojnarowicz Shows Abound	45			x		x	x	x	Warhol foundation; iPad protests; resignation of James T. Bartlett (commissioner of NPG)
	Naked Men in National Museums	46		x						A lot of quotes
	Secret Memo Shows Internal Tensions Over Smithsonian Censorship	47					x			Dissent in the Smithsonian over controversy; "[Sullivan] acknowledges that the decision, reached while Clough was travelling outside of the capital, was made in haste and based on a misunderstanding."
National Portrait Gallery - Hide/Seek [folder 2]	A Fire in Her Belly: Penny Starr, the Conservative Activist Who Punked the Smithsonian	1		x	x					
	L.A. gallery to show controversial video art censored by Smithsonian	2						x	x	CB1 gallery protest
	Jonathan Katz, "Hide/Seek" Curator, Blasts CultureGrrl	3				x				
	Q&A with Dan Cameron, curator of the New Museum's 1999 David Wojnarowicz retro	4								Interview with Dan Cameron; legacy of controversy
	Gallery's pulling of video riles UB art professor	5			x					The same as another photo
	Outraged Museums and Artists Unite in Protest of Smithsonian Censorship	6			x			x	x	PPOW gallery "offering to ship DVD copies of A Fire In My Belly to any group willing to screen it in protest."
	Crucifix and controversy at the National Portrait Gallery	7								Commentary on commentary
	Ants Video: Art or Hate Speech?	8			x		x			Sullivan quote about Wojnarowicz' intent
	BlogBacks on "Hide/Seek" (and new exposure for Wojnarowicz)	9						x	x	Politics
	Critic's Notebook: Smithsonian Institution fails to stand up to anti-gay bullies	10			x					Gay marriage
	Too shocking for America	11			x					Importance of exhibition
	AAMD misses mark on Smithsonian controversy	12							x	Association of Art Museum Directors response to controversy
	Protest: About 100 march against NPG's decision	13						x		NPG protest
	Demonstrators gather to protest removal of Wojnarowicz art from National Portrait Gallery	14						x		Same as 13, different format
	Artists of all faith walk sacrilege line: Muslims are among many people challenging religious assumptions	15							x	
	The censors arrive: Do Republican leaders really want to ride in to power with a burst of small-minded intolerance?	16			x					
	After the Shock Is Gone: Pity the poor artist trying to get a rise out of an audience today	17			x				x	
	Four Facts About the National Portrait Gallery Controversy	18						x		
	A Letter to Wayne Clough from Transformer	19					x	x	x	Letter to Clough
	John King USA	20			x					Interview?
	Fox and Friends	21			x					

Smithsonian pulls video Catholic groups call 'sacrilegious'	22			x		x				Donohue quotes
Transformer Gallery shows Wojnarowicz video banned by National Portrait Gallery	23			x			x	x	x	
GLBT Portrait Gallery exhibition 'Hide/Seek' attracts conservative anger	24			x						Sensation, Mapplethorpe, Serrano controversies as precedent
Boehner and Cantor to Smithsonian: Pull Exhibit Featuring Ant-Covered Jesus or Else	25		x	x						Repeat
Beck just makes things up about Smithsonian exhibit	26			x						Commentary on Glenn Becks statements about Hide/Seek; funding and contributors
National Portrait Gallery bows to censors, withdraws Wojnarowicz video on gay love	27			x						Review of controversy
Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit Feature Ant-Covered Jesus, Naked Brothers Kissing...	28		x							Introduction quote from exhibition included; great reference piece
Liberal Outrage, and its Absence	29	x		x						Anti-Hide/Seek perspective (11/30/2010)
Tis the Season for Bashing Christianity	30		x	x						
Boehner and Cantor to Smithsonian: Pull Exhibit Featuring Ant-Covered Jesus or Else	31		x	x						Deleted (repeat of 25)

Smithsonian spreadsheet for 14-069

Folder	Title	Image number	Panel/ Symposium	Brooklyn Museum Exhibit	Initial controversy	Curatorial response	Directorial response	Clough	Protests	Art world reaction	Notes
National Portrait Gallery - Hide/Seek [folder 1]	Letters to the Editor: Clarification	1									Clarification about previous letter to the editor
	Letters to the Editor	2									
	The year in censorship	3			x						Recap of controversy
	iPad Protesters to Return to National Portrait Gallery With Trailer - and Permits	4							x		Museum of Censored Art (01/13/2011)
	Between a Cross and a Hard Place	5			x			x			Quotes from Donohue; recap
	What Smithsonian Chief G. Wayne Clough Learned About Censorship at Georgia Tech	6						x			
	Protesters Plan to Stage "Museum of Censored Art"	7			x				x		
	Whose "Belly" Is It? Romberger, Wojnarowicz's Creative Collaborator, Speaks Out	8				x					
	Michael B. Keegan: Smithsonian: Just Put the Art Back	9			x						Recap
	Smithsonian's Clough sets press availability	10						x			"Clough will take questions from the public and then from the media in L.A on January 20th..."
	Smithsonian censorship saga: the next chapter	11					x			x	"Jim Hedges ... recently wrote Martin Sullivan... requesting that his loaned work Untitled, Self-Portrait by Jack Pierson be removed from Hide/Seek
	Smithsonian's Board Failed in Crucifix Controversy	12			x			x			Recap; criticism of Clough and the Smithsonian, specifically the board of regents
	Canadian artist brings lawyer into fight with National Portrait Gallery	13								x	A.A. Bronson; November 30th removal of AFIMB
	In Plain Sight	14									Harassment of Blake Gopnik
	Jim Hedges: Smithsonian Stands Firm on Censorship, Congressional Checkbook Trumps Constitution	15								x	Jim Hedges' reaction to the Wojnarowicz controversy, in relation to the piece he loaned to the Smithsonian
	Smithsonian secretary speaks to collector, but not curator	16						x			Jim Hedges and Clough; Hedges changes his mind; Clough yet to talk to Katz
	PEN requests Smithsonian to consider broader implications of video removal	17								x	PEN letter to the board of regents
	Jim Hedges Talks to Clough, Rescinds Demand for Return of "Hide/Seek" Loan	18								x	Hedges controversy
	Postwar & Contemporary Art: Wojnarowicz's Children: Artworks Inspired by the Controversial, and Revered, Artist	19							x	x	Recap and info about Wojnarowicz
	MoMA buys Controversial Video	20								x	Recap and MoMA's purchase of AFIMB
	Museum of Censored Art: A first look	21							x		Museum of Censored Art (01/13/2011)
	MoMA purchases crucifix video	22								x	Purchased Thursday of the week of 1/14/2011; recap of controversy
	Museum of Censored Art Tallies Over 1500 Visitors So Far	23							x	x	
	Clough pledges to continue "Hide/Seek" conversation	24						x			Clough's sentiments; announcement of April forum
	Clough defends removal of video	25						x			Clough's first interview since the start of the controversy; recap

Protest over art censorship will greet Smithsonian chief before L.A. talk Thursday	26							x		Protest against Clough's actions and the covering up of Blu's anti-war protest mural
Clough speaks and e-mails	27							x		Criticism of Clough; first statements on the controversy
Smithsonian chief defends decision to remove video	28							x		
The Smithsonian Defends Censorship	29							x		Recap; criticism of Clough - Clough's criticism of Katz and Ward's choice to exhibit the film; lot of quotes
"Hide/Seek" Interview : Smithsonian Secretary Clough 'Can Do the Math' (But Miscalculates)	30							x		Quotes from Clough
A Newly Powerful Grant-Making Force: Artist-Endowed Foundations	31								x	Calder Foundation canceled art loans
Cuts to the Smithsonian's federal appropriation: Already unlikely?	32									Smithsonian funding not cut
Smithsonian chief answers first public questions about censorship	33							x		LA protests; comments on free speech; full blown recap with quotes
Smithsonian chief says banned video a work of art	34							x		Quotes from Clough
Smithsonian's chief says removal of video was hasty	35							x		
Group protests art censorship at Smithsonian secretary's speech in L.A.	36							x		
Letters to the Editor	37							x		Criticism of Clough
Commentary: Pulling of David Wojnarowicz film imbecilic, cowardly	38			x						Recap; background and information about Wojnarowicz
Debunking Clough's spin, part two	39							x		Criticism of Clough
In Britain, Separation of Art and State	40							x		Comparison of controversy with other instances of controversy
Curators seek stories for Hide/Seek censorship archive	41									Recap; documentation of controversy
Hirshhorn board "deeply troubled" by Smithsonian censorship	42							x		Hirshhorn response to Clough's action; quote from letter
Recovering a Legacy Lost in the 'Fire'	43									Context about AFIMB; explanation of Wojnarowicz' usage of Christ
Protesters asking regents for Clough's resignation, policy clarification	44							x	x	Art Positive protest at the Smithsonian Castle
Op-Ed: The Smithsonian's lost integrity	45							x		Summation of Clough's statements
ArtsBeat: Hirshhorn Trustees Denounce Decision to Pull Video	46							x		Hirshhorn response to Clough's action; quote from letter
Censored Art Causes Collision Between Artists and US Congress	47			x					x x	Museum of Censored Art
Monday's Smithsonian protest will call for secretary's resignation	48								x	Protest of board of regents meeting
Getting the facts straight about Wojnarowicz' 'A Fire In My Belly'	49								x	Clarifications about AFIMB by specialists; incomplete
Seeing Queerly	50									Recap; praise of Katz
Gallery doesn't 'Hide' reactions	51									Visitor responses
Watch a Hide/Seek flash mob not get banned from the Smithsonian	52								x	Adrian Parsons, 13 minute flash mob protest; discussion of Blasenstein and Iacovone (Museum of Censored Art) ban was lifted week before 2/14
Critic's Notebook: Smithsonian air-clearing forum looks to be anything but	53		x					x		Public symposium scheduled for April 26-27; details about symposium (critical)
Corcoran to hold summit on 'culture wars' over art	54		x						x x	In response to cuts to the NEA
Art review: David Wojnarowicz's 'Spirituality' at PPOW gallery in New York	55								x	PPOW exhibition; context about Wojnarowicz and his relationship with Christianity
Reviving the culture wars	56								x	Commentary from members of the art community; recap
"The Culture Wars Are Back": A Summit at the Corcoran Draws Lessons from the Smithsonian's	57		x						x	Corcoran symposium (weekend of 3/28); People for the American Way report "How Not to Respond to Political Bullies" - section "Don't Panic: Have Plan and Follow

										It"
	NPG's Martin Sullivan and Me: "Hide/Seek: Museums, Ethics and the Press"	58	x				x			Rutgers University panel - "Hide/Seek: Museums, Ethics and the Press"; Sullivan, Culturegrl, and Daniel Okrent
	Panelist "Hide/Seek": Smithsonian Tags In-House Participants (only) for Two-Day Conference	59	X							Criticism of criticism of draft panelists selected; announcement of panelists
	Director's "Hide/Seek" Revelation: What REALLY Happened; What Won't Happen Again	60	x				X			Criticism of Cloughs actions; Sullivan's comments
	Smithsonian Lists Speakers for Its Hide/Seek Panels	61	x							Announcement of Smithsonian panelists
	Flash points and Fault Lines': Museum Curation & Controversy,' April 26-27	62	x							Schedule and list of panelists
	Scenes From Culture Wars in Art Museum Photo Show	63							x	Philadelphia Museum of Art - Unsettled: Photography and Politics in Contemporary Art; in response to Hide/Seek
	At the Smithsonian's Censorship Forum, 10 Questions That Should Be Asked	64	x							Questions for the Smithsonian
	Artist attempts to hang 'Censor' sign on Smithsonian secretary's neck	65						x	x	Adrian Parsons attempts to hang "Censor" sign around Clough's neck
	Curators display their passions at Smithsonian panel on the "Hide/Seek" aftermath	66	x			x				Statements from panel discussion
National Portrait Gallery - Hide/Seek [folder 2]	Art Roundup: Public Shaming Edition	1						x	x	Parsons attempt to put "Censor" around Cloughs neck
	"Clough Stands for Censorship": Impromptu Protest Enlivens Rote Smithsonian Forum on Scandal	2	x							
	The Smithsonian's Censorship Forum... Over Four Months Too Late	3	x							Statement from Michael Keegan President of People For the American Way
	After 'Hide/Seek,' the curators' call to arms	4	x							"Most speakers advised against retreating in the face of controversy..."
	Where's Clough? Smithsonian Secretary a No-Show for Morning "Hide/Seek" Panels	5	x					x		
	Surprising Revelation at "Hide/Seek" Conference: Smithsonian's Conservative Congressional Hero	6	x							Surprising quotes from members of the panel
	Gay Censorship, political Pressure Sparks Controversy at Smithsonian	7	x							"Bell noted that far too many museums have excluded work by gay and lesbian artists in the past..."
	Philadelphia Museum photography exhibit 'Unsettled'	8							x	Summary of show and Hide/Seek controversy
	Guest Blog: John Davis Malloy on the Smithsonian After Hide/Seek	9	x							Summary of panels and remarks
	Brooklyn Museum Presents Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire, Begins 11/18	10								November 18, 2011 through February 12, 2012
	Gay-themed exhibit that stirred controversy coming to Tacoma	11								90 of the 95 objects from the NPG exhibition would be shown at TAM
	Creators of censored-art museum are honored	12							x	John Phillip Immroth Memorial Award for intellectual freedom from the American Library Association
	Museum of Censored Art Founders Win 2011 ALA Award for Intellectual Freedom	13						x	x	Criticism of Clough and the Smithsonian
	Albright-Knox Gallery to host discussion on museums and censorship	14							x	Kurin, Katz, and Sullivan panel
	Smithsonian's crucible of censorship given scrutiny at forum	15							x	Albright-Knox panel; "did not look at Wojnarowicz film"

	BK Museum's HIDE/SEEK To Be Accompanied by Public Programs	16		x						List of highlights from Brooklyn Museum programming
	Brooklyn Bishop Attacks Video in Gay Art Show 'Hide/Seek'	17		x	x					
	Catholic League won't fight anti-crucifix video at Brooklyn Museum	18		x	x					
	One Year After "Hide/Seek"	19		x						Transformer perspective
	Bishop Asks That Video Be Cut From Brooklyn Museum Show	20		x	x					Nicholas DiMarzio wrote to John Tamagni; reassured "nothing in the exhibition was meant to be offensive"
	Anti-Christian Film To Open at Brooklyn Museum	21		x	x					Criticism of the show and recap of controversy
	New York Republicans Threaten to Pull Funding If Museum Shows Film About The AIDS Crisis	22		x						Brooklyn controversy; quotes
	Playing Hide/Seek	23		x	x					"Minor White's 'Tom Murphy'" signature image; notes some differences in the shows
	10 Affecting Artworks from the Brooklyn Museum's Controversial "Hide/Seek" Show	24		x						List of key pieces
	Panel Discusses Censorship In The Museum Hosted By Carpenter Performing Arts Center	25		x					x	California State University panel "Censorship in the Museum"
	Pennsylvania Catholic Group Protest Wojnarowicz Film Outside Brooklyn Museum	26		x						Brooklyn Museum protest
	Hide/Reek?: Catholic Staten Island Politician Hangs Disgusting Toilet-Bowl Portrait of Brooklyn Museum Director in His Office	27		x					x	Guerilla style protest by an artist in the Brooklyn Museum
	4 Reasons to go See 'HIDE/SEEK' at the Brooklyn Museum	28		x						#3 "Because the Wojnarowicz Film is Not What It's Been Made Out to Be"
	Hide/Seek' one year later: The world moves on, and sometimes forward	29		x						Summary of Brooklyn controversy
	Hide/Seek': Smithsonian official look back at what went wrong	30			x					Kurin's sentiments on the controversy and Cloughs actions; history of controversy at Smithsonian
Secretary Clough 2011	Us, In All Our Glory	31		x		x				Information about key pieces
	Blame the Bloggers: Clough Briefs Museum Lawyers on "Hide/Seek" Controversy	1						x		"Legal Issues in Museum Administration;" full text of keynote speech
	Smithsonian Chief Faces Cultural Collision	2						x		Clough to testify about \$861.5 million budget request for the Smithsonian
	Wounded In Crossfire Of a Capital Culture War	3						x		Summary of controversy and statements from Clough

Smithsonian spreadsheet for 14-301

Folder	Title	Image number	TAM exhibition	Brooklyn exhibition	National Portrait Gallery exhibition	Programming	Protests	Art world reaction	Notes
Media report - Hide/Seek - Tacoma Arts Museum, 2012	Critically-Acclaim "Hide/Seek" Makes West Coast Appearance at Tacoma Arts Museum	1	x						
	TAM Brings Hide/Seek Exhibition to the West Coast	2	x						March 17 - June 10, 2012
	Eye-opening LGBT exhibit challenges perceptions at Tacoma Art Museum	3	x						
	TAM takes on freedom of expression exhibit	4	x						
	Containing Multitudes': 'Hide/Seek' Journeys West (PHOTOS)	5	x						
	HIDE/SEEK: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture at TAM	6	x						
Press kit Brooklyn Museum	Press Image Checklist Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture	1		x					
Press kit National Portrait Gallery	Smithsonian's Archives of American Art Presents "Lost and Found"	1			x				Concurrent exhibition
	HIDE/SEEK: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture Public programs related to the exhibition	2			x	x			List of public programming at the National Portrait Gallery

Smithsonian spreadsheet for 15-120

Folder	Title	Image number	Penny Starr	Brooklyn exhibition	Tacoma exhibition	Curatorial response	Directorial response	Clough	Protests	Art world reaction	Notes
National Portrait Gallery - Hide/Seek 2012	Why you should catch the Brooklyn Museum's groundbreaking, moving 'HIDE/SEEK'	1		x							"The museum learned a decade ago not to bow to blowhards on matters of culture."
	Critically-Acclaimed "Hide/Seek" Makes West Coast Appearance at Tacoma Art Museum	2			x						
	"Hide/Seek," "Papakali," "The Farnsworth Invention," "Collision" and more...	3			x						
	Tacoma Art Museum's opening party for "Hide/Seek" filling up fast	4			x						
	TAM takes on freedom of expression exhibit	5			x						
	David C. Ward: 'Containing Multitudes': 'Hide/Seek' Journeys West	6			x						
	What John Boehner and Others Said About	7			x						
	LGBT art show spikes attendance	8			x						
	Gay Museum Wars: Victory? Or a Truce? For gay artists past and present, it gets better... slowly	9			x						Focuses on significance of show
	Voting Against Ruffled Feathers: American Museums Tend to Tiptoe Around Politics and Even the Political Process	10									Politics around the controversy
National Portrait Gallery [folder 1]	Penny Starr Returns With New Attack on Gays, National portrait Gallery	1	x								
	Tax-Funded Smithsonian Requests Christmas Season Pro-Gay Exhibit: Lesbian Gertrude Stein	2	x								Article by Starr about exhibition a year later
	National Portrait Gallery Director to Step Down	3					x				Martin Sullivan stepping down [2012]
	Martin Sullivan steps down as Portrait Gallery director	4					x				Martin Sullivan stepping down [2012]
Secretary Clough 2012	Shaking Up The Smithsonian	1 [b]						x		x	Board of regents "recommended that art not been taken out of any future exhibits that have already opened"
	Shaking Up The Smithsonian	2						x		x	Same as 1

Final Article Selection spreadsheet [includes all collections]

Photo number	Title	Panel/ Symposium	Brooklyn Exhibition	NPG Exhibition	Penny Starr	A.A. Bronson	Initial controversy	Curatorial response	Directional response	Clough	Protests	Art world reaction	Notes
13-084_NPG_HS1_09	No Walk in the Park: Protest of Smithsonian Censorship										x	x	Protest march from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum; Jerry Saltz and 500 others; Sunday of 12/21
13-084_NPG_HS1_010	Hide/Seek Co-Curator: Pulled Video "Was A Lucky Hit"							x	x				12/20 DCHCC hide/SPEAK; Cloughs failure to speak about the controversy; siding with curators and director
13-084_NPG_HS1_011	Silence=Unprofessional: The Wojnarowicz Panel					x		x					"Ward said that removing an important work represented a fine example of the themes that the shows critics don't want to discuss."; A.A. Bronson Felix controversy; lack of dialogue in cause of controversy/ Smithsonian was steamrolled
13-084_NPG_HS1_012	A letter from Bronson demanding action					x						x	A.A. Bronson letter to Marc Meyer
13-084_NPG_HS1_013	National Portrait Gallery Rejects Artist's Request to Remove His Work					x					x		A.A. Bronson controversy
13-084_NPG_HS1_014	Arts Policy: A Report From the Front Lines of New York's Smithsonian Censorship Protest												Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
13-084_NPG_HS1_015	Recap: Hide/SPEAK, a discussion of censorship and the Smithsonian							x					Hide/SPEAK; quotes
13-084_NPG_HS1_016	The second Smithsonian/Wojnarowicz scandal									x			Clough email to staff; funding
13-084_NPG_HS1_017	"Hide/Seek" Flap: "Silence = Death" (but so does intemperate rhetoric)							x				x	Quotes from Katz
13-084_NPG_HS1_018	Mapplethorpe Foundation Withdraws Support for Smithsonian Exhibitions											x	Suspension of funding from Warhol and Mapplethorpe foundations
13-084_NPG_HS1_019	Canadian Museum Backs Smithsonian Protest					x					x	x	A.A. Bronson
13-084_NPG_HS1_020	Smithsonian censorship yield solidarity in Chicago						x					x	Smart Museum of Art screening AFIMB from January 4 to February 6
13-084_NPG_HS1_021	Editorial: The ICA begins a conversation											x	
13-084_NPG_HS1_022	Protestors at Met Rally for Artwork						x				x		Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
13-084_NPG_HS1_023	NYC 'cross' walk										x		Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
13-084_NPG_HS1_024	New Yorkers Protest Smithsonian Censorship											x	Metropolitan Museum of Art to Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum
13-084_NPG_HS1_028	Art Policy: Smithsonian Rebuffs Artist AA Bronson as Censored "Hide/Seek" Organizers Continue to Shrug					x						x	A.A. Bronson
13-084_NPG_HS1_030	Artist wants photo removed from show: Action is in response to Portrait Gallery video controversy					x							
13-084_NPG_HS1_031	Video outcry flares anew: 'Hide/Seek' curators try to keep art on the agenda in discussion in New York							x				x	Donohue quote about controversy

13-084_NPG_HS1_032	Offensive? ICA lets the public decide							x					Full recap; discussion of imagery in AFIMB
13-084_NPG_HS1_034	Sen. Patrick Leahy and the Smithsonian regents						x					x	Commentary on commentary
13-084_NPG_HS1_035	Warhol Foundation threat was a missed opportunity											x	Warhol foundation funding suspension
13-084_NPG_HS1_036	Foundation Says It's Ending Smithsonian Support												Warhol foundation funding suspension; Dec 13 letter to Clough
13-084_NPG_HS1_038	Jon O'Brien: hide/seek exhibit									x			Catholics for Choice criticism of Clough
13-084_NPG_HS1_042	Smithsonian addresses staff fears, fallout over video controversy						x					x	Kurin response to faculty; quotes about AFIMB; quotes from Sullivan's email to NPG staff
13-084_NPG_HS1_043	NPG Protesters Plan Temporary Gallery for Censored Work												iPad protests
13-084_NPG_HS1_045	Smithsonian Fallout Update: An Official Resigns, Stephen Colbert Weighs in, and Wojnarowicz Shows Abound						x		x	x	x	x	Warhol foundation; iPad protests; resignation of James T. Bartlett (commissioner of NPG)
13-084_NPG_HS1_047	Secret Memo Shows Internal Tensions Over Smithsonian Censorship									x			Dissent in the Smithsonian over controversy; "[Sullivan] acknowledges that the decision, reached while Clough was travelling outside of the capital, was made in haste and based on a misunderstanding."
13-084_NPG_HS2_01	A Fire in Her Belly: Penny Starr, the Conservative Activist Who Punked the Smithsonian				x			x				x	x
13-084_NPG_HS2_02	L.A. gallery to show controversial video art censored by Smithsonian											x	x
13-084_NPG_HS2_06	Outraged Museums and Artists Unite in Protest of Smithsonian Censorship							x					PPOW gallery "offering to ship DVD copies of A Fire In My Belly to any group willing to screen it in protest."
13-084_NPG_HS2_08	Ants Video: Art or Hate Speech?							x		x		x	x
13-084_NPG_HS2_09	BlogBacks on "Hide/Seek" (and new exposure for Wojnarowicz)											x	"Hide/Seek" should be a platform for cultural debate, not the target of a misguided political vendetta" (Washington post quote)
13-084_NPG_HS2_013	Protest: About 100 march against NPG's decision				x							x	
13-084_NPG_HS2_014	Demonstrators gather to protest removal of Wojnarowicz art from National Portrait Gallery												Same as 13, different format
13-084_NPG_HS2_022	Smithsonian pulls video Catholic groups call 'sacrilegious'							x		x		x	x
13-084_NPG_HS2_023	Transformer Gallery shows Wojnarowicz video banned by National Portrait Gallery							x			x		Transformer Gallery
13-084_NPG_HS2_025	Boehner and Cantor to Smithsonian: Pull Exhibit Featuring Ant-Covered Jesus or Else				x			x					Repeat
13-084_NPG_HS2_028	Smithsonian Christmas-Season Exhibit Feature Ant-Covered Jesus, Naked Brothers Kissing...				x							x	Introduction quote from exhibition included; great reference piece
13-084_NPG_HS2_030	Tis the Season for Bashing Christianity				x			x					

14-069_NPG_HS1_04	iPad Protesters to Return to National Portrait Gallery With Trailer - and Permits																Museum of Censored Art (01/13/2011)
14-069_NPG_HS1_010	Smithsonian's Clough sets press availability									x						x	"Clough will take questions from the public and then from the media in LA on January 20th..."
14-069_NPG_HS1_011	Smithsonian censorship saga: the next chapter									x						x	"Jim Hedges ... recently wrote Martin Sullivan... requesting that his loaned work Untitled, Self-Portrait by Jack Pierson be removed from Hide/Seek"
14-069_NPG_HS1_015	Jim Hedges: Smithsonian Stands Firm on Censorship, Congressional Checkbook Trumps Constitution																Jim Hedges' reaction to the Wojnarowicz controversy, in relation to the piece he loaned to the Smithsonian
14-069_NPG_HS1_016	Smithsonian secretary speaks to collector, but not curator										x		x				Jim Hedges and Clough; Hedges changes his mind; Clough yet to talk to Katz
14-069_NPG_HS1_021	Museum of Censored Art: A first look															x	Museum of Censored Art (01/13/2011)
14-069_NPG_HS1_026	Protest over art censorship will greet Smithsonian chief before L.A. talk Thursday																Protest against Clough's actions and the covering up of Blu's anti-war protest mural
14-069_NPG_HS1_027	Clough speaks and e-mails										x					x	Criticism of Clough; first statements on the controversy
14-069_NPG_HS1_031	A Newly Powerful Grant-Making Force: Artist-Endowed Foundations																Calder Foundation canceled art loans
14-069_NPG_HS1_032	Cuts to the Smithsonian's federal appropriation: Already unlikely?																Smithsonian funding not cut
14-069_NPG_HS1_033	Smithsonian chief answers first public questions about censorship										x						LA protests; comments on free speech; full blown recap with quotes
14-069_NPG_HS1_042	Hirshhorn board "deeply troubled" by Smithsonian censorship										x						Hirshhorn response to Clough's action; quote from letter
14-069_NPG_HS1_043	Recovering a Legacy Lost in the 'Fire'															x	Context about AFIMB; explanation of Wojnarowicz' usage of Christ
14-069_NPG_HS1_044	Protesters asking regents for Clough's resignation, policy clarification										x					x	Art Positive protest at the Smithsonian Castle
14-069_NPG_HS1_049	Getting the facts straight about Wojnarowicz' 'A Fire In My Belly'																Clarifications about AFIMB by specialists; incomplete
14-069_NPG_HS1_053	Critic's Notebook: Smithsonian air-clearing forum looks to be anything but	x										x		x		x	Public symposium scheduled for April 26-27; details about symposium (critical)
14-069_NPG_HS1_054	Corcoran to hold summit on 'culture wars' over art	x														x	In response to cuts to the NEA
14-069_NPG_HS1_057	"The Culture Wars Are Back": A Summit at the Corcoran Draws Lessons from the Smithsonian's	x															Corcoran symposium (weekend of 3/28); People for the American Way report "How Not to Respond to Political Bullies" - section "Don't Panic: Have Plan and Follow It"
14-069_NPG_HS1_058	NPG's Martin Sullivan and Me: "Hide/Seek: Museums, Ethics and the Press"	x									x						Rutgers University panel - "Hide/Seek: Museums, Ethics and the Press"; Sullivan, Culturegrl, and Daniel Okrent
14-069_NPG_HS1_059	Panelist "Hide/Seek": Smithsonian Tags In-House Participants (only) for Two-Day Conference	x															Criticism of criticism of draft panelists selected; announcement of panelists
14-069_NPG_HS1_060	Director's "Hide/Seek" Revelation: What REALLY Happened; What Won't Happen Again	x									x						Criticism of Clough's actions; Sullivan's comments
14-069_NPG_HS1_061	Smithsonian Lists Speakers for Its Hide/Seek Panels	x															Announcement of Smithsonian panelists

14-069_NPG_HS1_062	Flash points and Fault Lines': Museum Curation & Controversy,' April 26-27	x										x	Schedule and list of panelists
14-069_NPG_HS1_063	Scenes From Culture Wars in Art Museum Photo Show										x	x	Philadelphia Museum of Art - Unsettled: Photography and Politics in Contemporary Art; in response to Hide/Seek
14-069_NPG_HS1_065	Artist attempts to hang 'Censor' sign on Smithsonian secretary's neck									x			Adrian Parsons attempts to hang "Censor" sign around Clough's neck
14-069_NPG_HS1_066	Curators display their passions at Smithsonian panel on the "Hide/Seek" aftermath	x						x					Statements from panel discussion
14-069_NPG_HS2_02	"Clough Stands for Censorship": Impromptu Protest Enlivens Rote Smithsonian Forum on Scandal	x											
14-069_NPG_HS2_06	Surprising Revelation at "Hide/Seek" Conference: Smithsonian's Conservative Congressional Hero	x											Surprising quotes from members of the panel
14-069_NPG_HS2_09	Guest Blog: John Davis Malloy on the Smithsonian After Hide/Seek	x											Summary of panels and remarks
14-069_NPG_HS2_010	Brooklyn Museum Presents Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire, Begins 11/18		x									x	November 18, 2011 through February 12, 2012
14-069_NPG_HS2_014	Albright-Knox Gallery to host discussion on museums and censorship											x	Kurin, Katz, and Sullivan panel
14-069_NPG_HS2_015	Smithsonian's crucible of censorship given scrutiny at forum												Albright-Knox panel; "did not look at Wojnarowicz film"
14-069_NPG_HS2_016	BK Museum's HIDE/SEEK To Be Accompanied by Public Programs		x										List of highlights from Brooklyn Museum programming
14-069_NPG_HS2_017	Brooklyn Bishop Attacks Video in Gay Art Show 'Hide/Seek'		x				x						
14-069_NPG_HS2_018	Catholic League won't fight anti-crucifix video at Brooklyn Museum		x				x						
14-069_NPG_HS2_020	Bishop Asks That Video Be Cut From Brooklyn Museum Show		x				x						Nicholas DiMarzio wrote to John Tamagni; reassured "nothing in the exhibition was meant to be offensive"
14-069_NPG_HS2_022	New York Republicans Threaten to Pull Funding If Museum Shows Film About The AIDS Crisis		x										Brooklyn controversy; quotes
14-069_NPG_HS2_026	Pennsylvania Catholic Group Protest Wojnarowicz Film Outside Brooklyn Museum		x								x		Brooklyn Museum protest
14-069_NPG_HS2_027	Hide/Reek?: Catholic Staten Island Politician Hangs Disgusting Toilet-Bowl Portrait of Brooklyn Museum Director in His Office		x										Guerilla style protest by an artist in the Brooklyn Museum
14-069_NPG_HS2_031	Us, In All Our Glory		x				x						Information about key pieces
14-301_Presskit_BM_01	Press Image Checklist Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture		x										
14-301_Presskit_NPG_02	HIDE/SEEK: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture Public programs related to the exhibition			x									List of public programming at the National Portrait Gallery

Appendix B

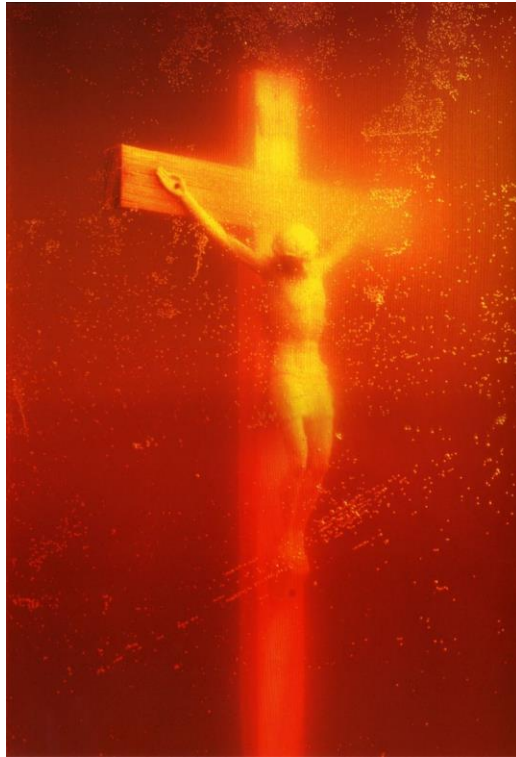


Figure 1. Andres Serrano, *Piss Christ*, 1987.

Edward Knippers. "Andres Serrano: Piss Christ." *Art Way*, accessed April 14, 2019.
<http://www.artway.eu/content.php?id=2131&lang=en&action=show>

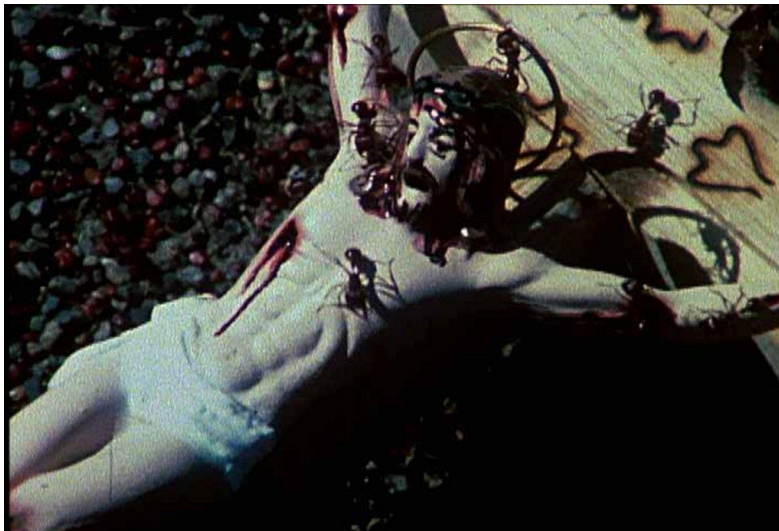


Figure 2. David Wojnarowicz, excerpt from *A Fire in My Belly*, 1986.

Screenshot of film segment from Fotográfica Fundación Televisa. "A Fire in My Belly." Vimeo,
posted 2016. <https://vimeo.com/140125928>



Figure 3. Man Ray, *Rose Sélavy (Marcel Duchamp)*, 1923.



Figure 4. Florine Stettheimer, *Portrait of Marcel Duchamp*, 1925.

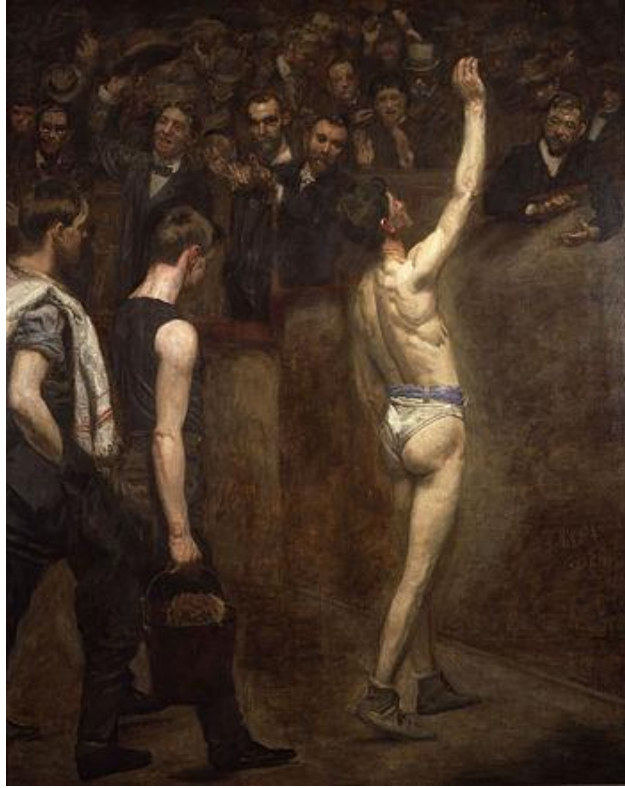


Figure 5. Thomas Eakins, *Salutat*, 1898.



Figure 6. Berenice Abbott, *Janet Flanner*, 1927.



Figure 7. Marsden Hartley, *Eight Bells Folly: Memorial to Hart Crane*, 1933.



Figure 8. Marsden Hartley, *Portrait of a German Officer*, 1914.



Figure 9. Jasper Johns, *In Memory of My Feelings – Frank O'Hara*, 1961.

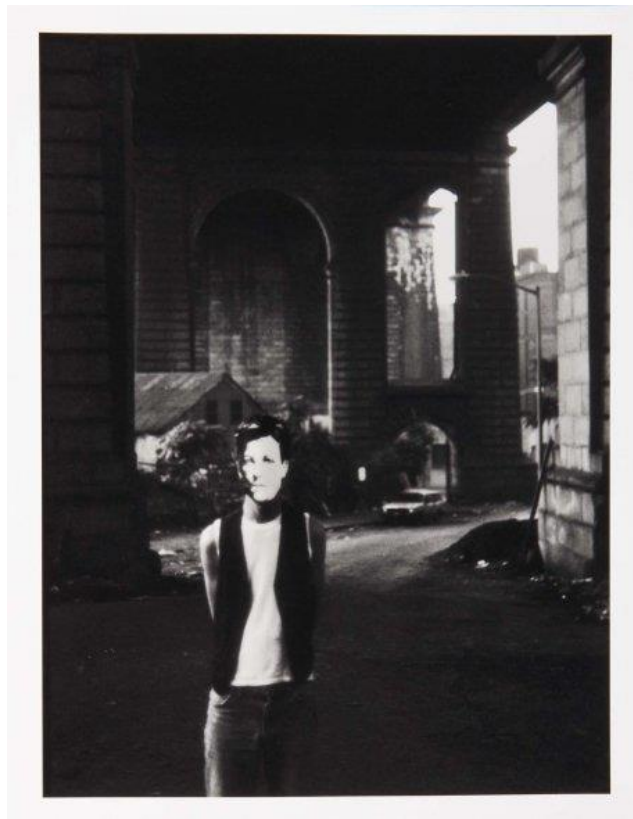


Figure 10a. David Wojnarowicz, *Arthur Rimbaud in New York, Under Brooklyn Bridge*, 1978-1979.



Figure 10b. David Wojnarowicz, *Arthur Rimbaud in New York, In New York subway*, 1978-1979.

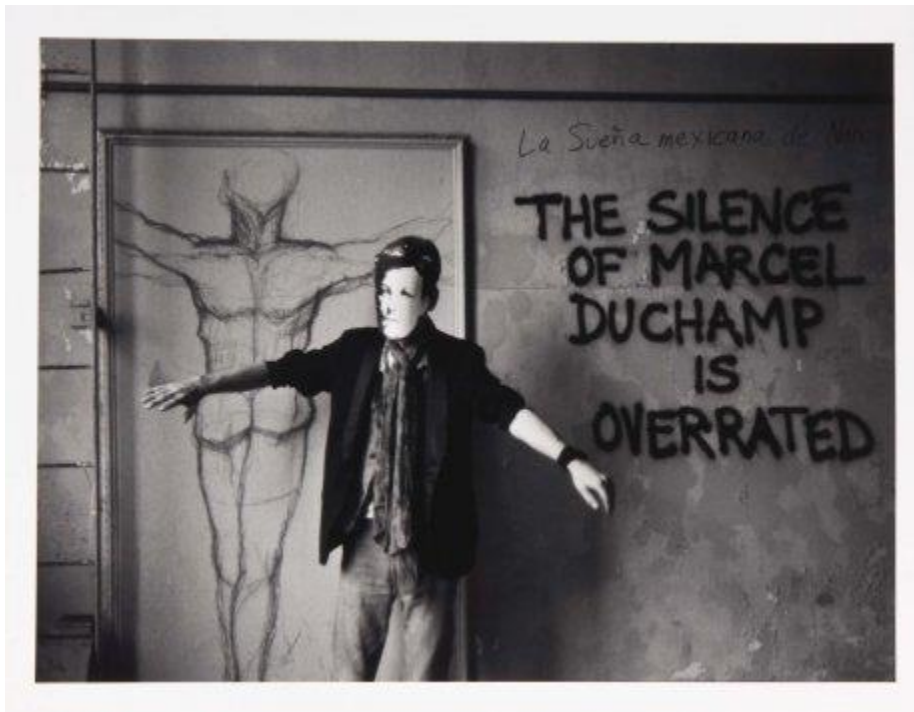


Figure 10c. David Wojnarowicz, *Arthur Rimbaud in New York, As Duchamp*, 1978-1979.



Figure 10d. David Wojnarowicz, *Arthur Rimbaud in New York, A West Side Pier with Graffiti*, 1978-1979.



Figure 11. Felix Gonzalez-Torres, *"Untitled" (Portrait of Ross in L.A.)*, 1991.

"'Untitled' (Portrait of Ross in L.A.)." Art Institute of Chicago. Accessed April 2019.
<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/152961/untitled-portrait-of-ross-in-l-a>



Figure 12. A.A. Bronson, *Felix*, June 5, 1994, 1994.



Figure 13. Christopher Makos, *Altered Image: Warhol in Drag*, 1981.



Figure 14. Cass Bird, *I Look Just Like My Daddy*, 2004.



Figure 15. Jack Pierson, *Self Portrait #3*, 2003.



Figure 16. Jack Pierson, *Self Portrait #28*, 2005.

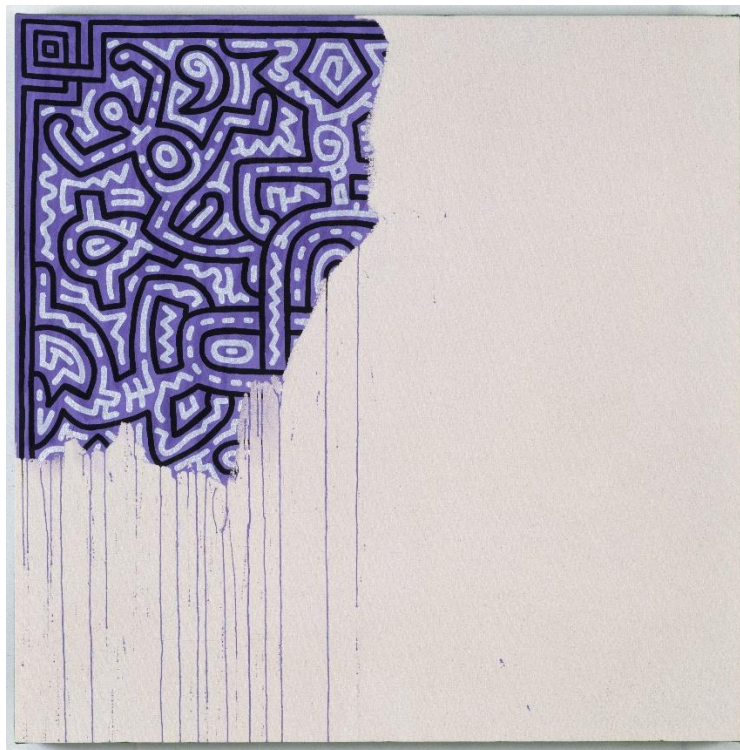


Figure 17. Keith Haring, *Unfinished Painting*, 1989.



Figure 18. Protestors outside of the National Portrait Gallery wearing Arthur Rimbaud masks.

Bill O'Leary, *The Washington Post*, December 2, 2010.

<http://magazine.art21.org/2011/01/18/visibility-potency-and-meaning-making-sense-of-art-at-the-crosshairs/protestors-walk-across-town-to-the-national-portrait-gallery-to-protest-the-censorship-of-the-video-by-david-wojnarowicz-a-gay-artist-who-died-from-aids-in-1992-called-fire-in-my-belly/>



Figure 19. Lyle Ashton Harris, *Brotherhood, Crossroads, Etcetera* (center panel), 1994.

"The Good Life," Lyle Ashton Harris, accessed April 22, 2019.

<https://www.lyleashtonharris.com/series/the-good-life-2/>

Appendix C

The tables reproduced in this section are sourced from *Hiding in Plain Sight*, the visitor survey for *Hide/Seek*, produced by the Smithsonian Office of Policy and Analysis.



Figure 1. Anticipated Overall Experience Rating (All Visitors)

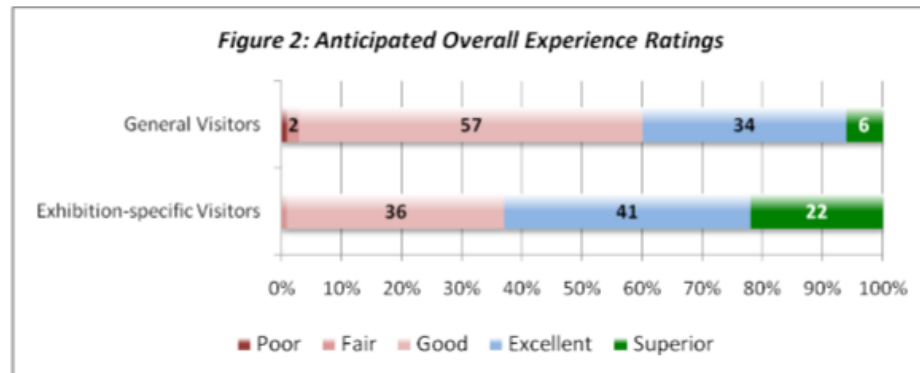


Figure 2. Anticipated Overall Experience Ratings

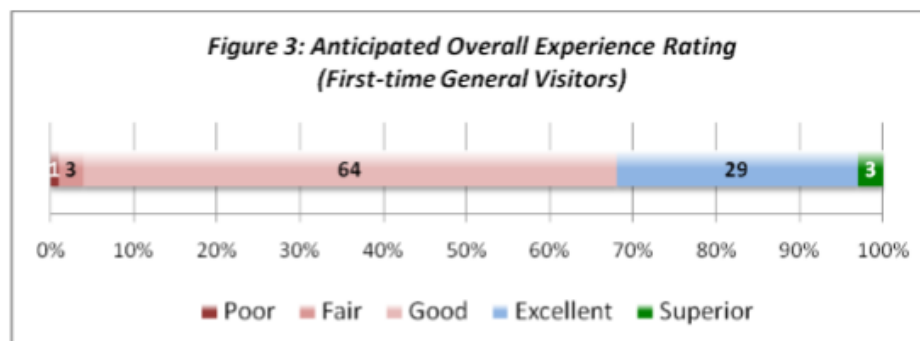


Figure 3. Anticipated Overall Experience Ratings (First-time General Visitors)

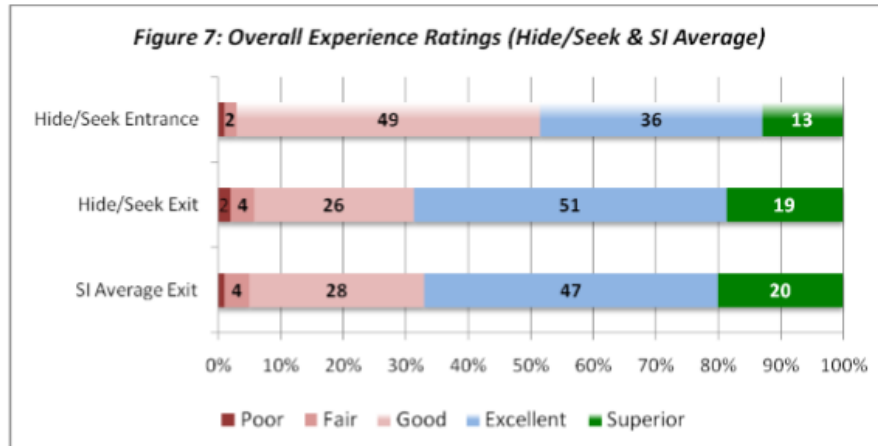


Figure 4. Overall Experience Rating (*Hide/Seek* & SI Average)

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